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Selections.

CONGRESS—RECONSTRUCTION.

[There was a long debate last week on Wednesday in the Senate, on some amendments to the Report of the Reconstruction Committee, which is herewith given, mainly as per telegraph. Readers may see more importance in the discussion than does this Editor. But it indicates the barometrical condition of the senatorial atmosphere at any rate:]

THE RESTORATION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

MR. WILLIAMS (Oregon) submitted an amendment intended to be offered to the bill to provide for restoring the States lately in rebellion to their free political rights in lieu of Section 1 of said bill.

Section 1. Whenever any one of the States in insurrection shall ratify the above proposed amendment as required by the Constitution of the United States, and shall conform its Constitution and laws thereto, the Senators and Representatives from such States, after the 4th day of March, 1867, if found duly elected and qualified, shall, upon taking the required oaths, be admitted into Congress; provided that Senators and Representatives from Tennessee or Arkansas, respectively, shall be admitted if elected and qualified as aforesaid, when either of said States shall ratify, as aforesaid, said proposed amendment.

Mr. Dixon (Conn.) asked leave to give notice of his intention to offer an amendment to the bills and resolutions reported by the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, and, as a substitute therefor, the following:

Resolved, That the interests of peace and the interests of the Union, require the admission of every State to its share in public legislation, whenever it presents itself, not only in an attitude of loyalty and harmony, but in the persons of representatives whose loyalty cannot be questioned under any constitutional or legal test.

Upon this, Mr. Dixon asked leave to make a few remarks, and prefaced them with a leading article on reconstruction from the New York *Evening Post*. He then said: What I have read seemed to me so wise and just, that I have adopted it as the best expression which I can make of my own views. It is the leading article in the New York *Evening Post* of May 1, a journal which is certainly not excelled in ability, patriotism and influence by any newspaper in the country. Coming from such a source, I cannot but hope that these wise, calm and statesmanlike views may have some influence even on this body, as they certainly will have among intelligent people of the United States.

Mr. Fessenden (Me.)—I wish to make a single remark on the proposition of the Senator from Connecticut. He thinks that these remarks which he read from the *Post* are so very wise and so very just that he has some hope that they may not be without their effect even upon the members of this body; thus intending to intimate that the last place where wise and just measures would be supposed to have any effect would be upon the members of this body. Sir, we have not given ourselves over to the keeping of the Senator from Connecticut or those who act with him. We do not pretend to any particular wisdom or particular sense of justice, but we who are on the Committee and who are more particularly referred to by the remark, feel that at any rate we have tried to do our duty; we have been in session a considerable length of time—not longer than we deemed it absolutely necessary in order to reach a conclusion—and in reaching that conclusion we have been obliged to take into consideration a great many things. First, what would be wise and just to do; and in the next place, what if it is wise and just, we can do, what would be acceptable to Congress, and what would be acceptable to the people. The propositions in that Committee led to considerable differences of opinion.

Mr. Dixon—I suppose the Senator from Maine did not intend in his opening remarks to question my right to offer an amendment.

Mr. Fessenden—Not at all. I only suggested to the Senator that when he stated that the wisdom of these remarks of the *Post* might be hoped to have some effect on this body, it was rather an intimation that this body could not be expected to act wisely and justly.

Mr. Dixon—The word "even," as used by me, may have, I think, a different meaning from what the Senator supposes. My meaning was that these remarks ought to have influence upon so distinguished and so wise a body as this. But I will consent to strike out the word "even," if it is offensive to the Senator.

Mr. Fessenden—Not at all.

Mr. Dixon—I meant to say and I now repeat that even on such a body as the Senate of the United States words of wisdom like these might have their effect. I certainly would be the last person to reflect on the Senate or the Committee. But I suppose that I have a right to say that I do not think the report of the Committee contains all the wisdom which may exist in the Senate or even in the Committee itself. Now, Mr. President, I beg leave to say a word with regard to that report and the measures which the Committee have proposed. But for my great respect for the members of that Committee and its chairman, and even if not forbidden by my knowledge that they are incapable of such a thing, from the bare reading of their reported resolutions I should have supposed that, as this writer intimates whose language I have adopted, "The object of that report was to present a scheme which could not be adopted." I am forbidden to entertain such an opinion by my great respect for the Committee. I know that they are incapable of anything of the sort, and I therefore am obliged to suppose they thought this might be accepted. That it might possibly under some supposable circumstances cool the agitation which is prevailing on this subject and result in the readmission of members from the rebel States. That no doubt was their intention. But I beg leave to say that it seems to me that it is utterly impossible that that should ever be the effect of it. For example—allow me to particularize—after the States have accepted these terms: after they are represented in this body and in the House of Representatives for a period of nearly four years, if they accept the proposition next Fall, they are to be denied the right of voting for their own representatives in Congress. We are told every day, and I believe it is to a certain extent true, in some States, that the whole mass of people participated in the rebellion, or, in the language of the report, adhered to it. The language of the report does not exclude merely those who were original conspirators; but may finally have adhered to the rebellion. Now, consider that proposition for a moment. Those States are to be represented in the other House and in this body after having accepted these terms, and still their representatives are to be chosen without the votes of the people. I would ask, who is to vote? The colored men cannot vote. Take North Carolina, and Mississippi, and Georgia. Who is to choose representatives in those States? I will not say it is mockery, because my respect for the Committee forbids. But I must say that it does seem to me that no man can expect that any of these States will ever accept the terms proposed. I agree with the *Evening Post* on that point. I will say further that I am not sure if they would accept it, that they ever ought to be permitted to vote at all.

Mr. Fessenden—I wish to ask the Senator a question. I have the impression that President Johnson has over and over again said that the government of these States ought to be exercised by the loyal portion, those who have been loyal to the Union.

Mr. Dixon—In the first place, I beg leave to say to the Senator from Maine, that it makes no difference in forming my opinions what the President or anybody else says; so, if the President had said so, it would not be binding anything on me, unless my judgment approved it. In the next place, I say that I agree with the sentiment, not because the President said it, but because I believe it is a correct sentiment. But that is not what the report says. The report of the Committee does not say that only loyal men can vote. I know that the President says that, everybody says it who think, as I do, but the question is, what is a loyal man!

Mr. Fessenden—Did he not say those who had been loyal, those who had not participated in the rebellion, should be entrusted with the government. Was not that his recommendation with regard to Tennessee?

Mr. Dixon, in reply, said that he meant those who were loyal at the time of their readmission. He would not say that it was not correct to disfranchise certain leaders, but to disfranchise the whole people would be impolitic and unwise.

Mr. Grimes (Iowa) said that there seemed to be some controversy as to what were the views of the President of the United States. From the peculiar position which Mr. Dixon occupied toward the President, he thought he (Mr. Dixon) ought to be informed on the subject. He desired to know from him whether an article in *The National Intelligencer* of this morning, which he understood was telegraphed to to the country last night, represented the views of the President. It purported to give the proceedings of a Cabinet meeting at which the late report of the Reconstruction Committee was discussed. If he (Grimes) understood the force of language this was not the position of the President heretofore. If he understood the subject, the President now insists that these States shall be immediately represented; that they are entitled under the Constitution to immediate representation on this floor, and in the other House; that no antecedent condition should be imposed; and that his Cabinet concurs in that opinion. He (Grimes) supposed that was the proposition put forth from the White House in opposition to the report of the Committee of Fifteen—the immediate unconditional admission, without any terms or condition, of the representatives from those States.

Mr. Dixon—The Senator from Iowa intimates in his opening remarks that I had some peculiar knowledge or means of knowledge of the President's views. He spoke of the peculiar relations in which I stood to the President. The Senator is entirely mistaken in regard to that. My relations to the President are precisely similar to those of the Senator himself; I have seen the President but once within the space of two months, and then for not over five minutes. I take his views from his written published statements.

Mr. Grimes—If the Senator will excuse me. The fact that the Senator's resolution was identical in spirit and almost in terms with the language attributed in the *National Intelligencer* this morning to the President led me to infer—

Mr. Dixon—If it is identical in spirit, then the Senator is mistaken in another point when he says the President has now taken new views and new grounds. He says that the language attributed to the President in the paper from which he had read is identical in spirit with the resolution that I have offered. My resolution is taken from the President's Veto Message of the Freedmen's Bureau bill more than two months ago, so that the Senator will see that he is mistaken in supposing that there has been any change in the President's views, if mine are identical with his, and I do not suppose there has been any change. I do not suppose that the President has changed from the views contained in that resolution. I copied the resolution from the words of the President contained in that Veto Message, because I thought they were extremely well expressed, and because they were my views. Now I desire to say with regard to this resolution of mine, that I have not offered it in consequence of any consultation with any human being. I have not seen the President, or any member of the Cabinet, or any human being, with regard to it. I read the article in the *Evening Post*, and it struck me as being true, and as coming from a source entitling it to great weight and authority. I knew it would be respected by this body from the character of the writer. I thought it correct, and it was exactly in accordance with my sentiments. Mr. Dixon made some further remarks in advocacy of the resolution he had offered.

Mr. Grimes—I did not intend to convey the idea that the Senator from Connecticut has a master, but I submit, after all he has said, whether I was not perfectly justified in saying that peculiar relations subsisted between him and the President, when he himself admits that he went not only for the spirit, but for the identical language of his resolution to the celebrated Veto Message of the President in the Freedmen's Bureau bill.

Mr. Dixon said it was not uncommon for a resolution to be offered in language taken from a President's Message.

Mr. Sumner rose.

Mr. Sherman called for the regular order, which was the Post Office Appropriation bill.

Mr. Sumner—I shall say but a few words. I would observe that the question involved in this proposition of the Senator from Connecticut is so important that it may be considered as perhaps always in order to discuss it. I do not know that we ought to pass a day without introducing it in some way. I certainly do not depreciate this discussion, but, while I say that, I am very positive on another point. I depreciate any effort now to precipitate a decision on that question, and I do most sincerely hope that the Senator from Maine—the Chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction—will bear that in mind. I do not believe that Congress, at this moment, is in a condition to give the country the best proposition on this question. I am afraid that excellent Committee has listened too much to the voices from without, insisting that there be such an issue presented to the country. For myself, I have always thought that call was premature. There is no occasion now for an issue to be presented. There are no elections now pending in any of the States. The election in Connecticut is over. The election in New Hampshire is over. There are to be no elections before next Autumn, and what is the occasion now for an issue to be presented to the country? I see none, unless Congress, after the most mature and careful discussion of the subject, is able to present an issue on which we can all honestly and as one phalanx go forward to battle. Now, sir, I do not intend to be drawn into any premature discussion of the issue presented by the report of the Committee on Reconstruction. I merely speak now to the question of time. I am sure that that report could not have been made in the last week of March; and I am equally sure if the Committee had postponed that report until the last week of May, they would have made a better one than they have made in the last week of April. I hope, therefore, following out that idea, that the decision of this question will be postponed as far as possible to the end that all just influences may be allowed to come to Congress from the country, and that Congress itself may be inspired by the fullest and amplest consideration of the whole question. Why, sir, where is the evidence that has been taken before this Committee; we have not seen it together yet. That ought to be got together; it ought to be laid before the country; and we ought to get from the country that just influence which the circulation of that evidence is calculated to cause. I am sure wherever that evidence is read, people will say Congress is justified in insisting upon security for the future. To that end I take it, the evidence was taken. And I hope that Congress will not act until we get from the country the legitimate influence of that evidence. But, sir, allow me to say, by way of comment on the proposition of the Senator from Connecticut, that it seems to me my excellent friend, when he brought forward his proposition, forgot two things.

Mr. Dixon—I forgot more than that, probably.

Mr. Sumner—He says probably more than that. Yet two things especially he forgot, which are so essential that to forget them was to forget everything. In the first place, he forgot that we had been in a war; in the second place, he forgot that four millions of human beings had been changed from a condition of slavery to a condition of freemen. Mr. Sumner dwelt briefly upon these two points, urging that a proposition for reconstruction should embrace security for the future, and protection to the freedmen.

Mr. Dixon—One word, in reply to the Senator from Massachusetts, with the consent of the Senate. The Senator says that I have forgotten many things, and among others the guaranties required by the four millions of slaves who have been emancipated. I desire to ask the Senator what guaranties these persons have in the proposition reported by the Committee. The Senator exhausted all the terms in the English language in denouncing a resolution, which was before the Senate some time since, and which contained the only guarantee for the colored race that is contained in this report; the only guarantee which he says he keeps constantly in his mind, and which I have forgotten, contained in this report, is that providing that, if those persons are not allowed to vote in the State in which they reside, they shall not be accounted in the apportionment of representatives. The Senate has not yet forgotten—the echoes are still ringing in this hall—what the Senator said in regard to that proposition. If the English language contains any terms of reproach, if it can be carried into any form or shape of opprobrium which he did not exhaust on that subject, and some of which my friend from Maine (Mr. Fessenden) cited as beauties of rhetoric, I am mistaken. I think he could have gone no further in denouncing that very proposition, which is the only guarantee in this report; and yet he says I have forgotten that they require guarantees. I beg leave to remind the Senator that he too has forgotten his own words on that subject.

Mr. Sumner—Not at all.

Mr. Sherman inquired if there was any question before the Senate?

The Chair said there was not.

Mr. Sherman called for the regular order.

The Post-Office Appropriation bill was taken up as the unfinished business. The pending question was upon the following amendment of Mr. Trumbull:

No person exercising or performing the duties of any office which by law is required to be filled by the advice and consent of the Senate, shall, before its confirmation by the Senate, receive any salary or compensation for his services, unless he be commissioned by the President to fill up a vacancy occurring by reason of death, resignation or expiration of term of office during the recess of the Senate and since its last adjournment, or removed for acts done in violation of the duties of his office—the case and cause of removal to be reported to the Senate at its next session.

After debate by Messrs. Howe (Wis.) and Guthrie, the amendment was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Clark, Conness, Cresswell, Harris, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Kirkwood, Morrill, Nye, Poland, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sumner, Sprague, Trumbull, Wade, Williams and Wilson—19.

NAYS—Messrs. Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Guthrie, Fessenden, Johnson, Morgan, Saulsbury, Sherman, Van Winkle and Willey—11.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—On Thursday the House disposed of the Colorado question as sent up from the Senate on the 25th ult., as follows:

The morning hour having expired, the House proceeded to the consideration of the business on the Speaker's table, the first bill being the Senate bill, passed April 25, for the admission of the Territory of Colorado as a State into the Union.

Mr. Ashley (Ohio) said that he was instructed by the Committee on Territories to put the bill upon its passage, unless some gentlemen desired to debate it and would agree upon a time to take the vote.

No proposition of that kind being made, Mr. Ashley moved the "previous question."

Mr. Rice (Maine) desired the reference of the bill to the Committee on Territories, but Mr. Ashley declined to withdraw his motion for the "previous question."

Mr. Stevens (Pennsylvania) addressing Mr. Ashley, said: I suggest that you had better allow a day or two for discussion, and allow some efforts to be made to amend the bill. Some of us cannot vote for it. No consideration of expediency can induce us to do so. But we may amend it so as to pass it. I hope the gentleman (Mr. Ashley) will consider whether it is prudent to force it against the sense of the House now.

Mr. Ashley repeated that he must press the bill to its passage, unless a day were fixed for the vote.

The House refused to second the previous question by a vote of 43 to 63.

Mr. Rice (Maine) moved the reference of the bill to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Ashley hoped the motion would not prevail, unless the House was disposed to reject the bill entirely.

Mr. Rice (Me.) said he was not desirous of having the bill referred if a day could be fixed for its consideration, but he did not want to be driven to a vote on this important measure to-day.

Mr. Ashley suggested next Monday for its consideration.

The Speaker said there were special orders already assigned for Monday.

Mr. Farnsworth (Ill.) inquired what days were already assigned.

The Speaker stated the condition of the business: There were two special orders on the House for Monday next, after the morning hour; the bill establishing the grade of General in the army, and the bill in reference to the pay of officers in the army. The Tax bill was also a special order for Monday in the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union. On Tuesday, immediately after the reading of the journal, the Constitutional Amendment, reported by the Committee on Reconstruction, was a special order until disposed of; and on Wednesday and Thursday the two bills, reported by that Committee, were special orders to continue until disposed of.

Mr. Ashley (Ohio) said that the reference of the bill would be to kill it for this session.

Mr. Bingham remarked that that was what was intended.

Mr. Rice (Me.) disclaimed that idea, but wanted a fair opportunity of considering the bill.

Mr. Chanler moved to lay the bill on the table.

The vote was taken by yeas and nays, and resulted Yeas 29, Nays 109—so the bill was not laid on the table.

The question recurred on Mr. Rice's motion to refer, and the vote was Yeas 54, Nays 74—so the motion was negatived, and the bill remained before the House for consideration.

Mr. Ashley (Ohio) addressed the House briefly in support of the bill, and yielded to Mr. Washburne (Ill.) to offer the following amendment:

Provided, That this act shall not take effect until the said State of Colorado shall so amend the Constitution thereof as to strike out the word "white" as a previous qualification of voting.

The previous question was seconded, and the main question ordered, which was first on Mr. Washburne's amendment.

The amendment was rejected—Yeas, 36; Nays, 95. The following is the vote in detail.

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Ames, Baldwin, Baxter, Blaine, Bontwell, Brandegee, Broomall, Dixon, Donnelly, Eliot, Garfield, Grinnell, Hotchkiss, Hubbard (Iowa), Jenckes, Julian, Kasson, Kelley, Kelso, Loan, Lynch, McClurg, McRuer, Morrill, Paine, Perham, Pike, Rice (Mass.) Rice (Me.), Stevens, Washburne (Ill.), Williams, Wilson (Iowa), Windom, Woodbridge—36.

NAYS—Messrs. Ancona, Anderson, Ashley (Ohio), Ashley (Novada), Baker, Banks, Barker, Beaman, Benjamin, Bergen, Bidwell, Bingham, Blow, Boyer, Broomall, Buckland, Bundy, Chanler, Clarke (Ohio), Coffroth, Conkling, Culom, Darling, Dawson, Defrees, Delano, Denning, Denison, Driggs, Dumont, Eckley, Eldridge, Farquhar, Ferry, Fink, Glossbrenner, Grider, Griswold, Harding (Ky.), Harding (Ill.) Harris, Hart, Henderson, Holmes, Hubbard (W. Va.), Hubbell (Ohio), Humphrey (James), Ingersoll, Ketchan, Kuykendall, Lafin, Latham, Lawrence (Pa.), Lawrence, (Ohio), Le Blond, Longyear, Marshall, Marston, McCullough, McRuer, Miller, Moorhead, Moulton, Myers, Newell, O'Neill, Orth, Patterson, Plants, Raymond, Ritter, Rollins, Ross, Rosseau, Sawyer, Schenck, Shanklin, Shellabarger, Smith, Spaulding, Strouse, Taylor, Thomas (James), Thomas (John L., Jr.), Thornton, Trowbridge, Upson, Van Horn (N. Y.), Van Horn (Mo.), Warner, Washburn (Ind.), Welker, Whaley, Winfield, Wright—95.

HOUSE, FRIDAY, May 4.

Mr. Stevens asked leave to introduce the following joint resolution:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That the Congress of the United States of America has learned with deep regret of the attempt made upon the life of the Emperor of Russia by an enemy of Emancipation. The Congress send their greeting to his Imperial Majesty and the Russian nation, and congratulates the twenty millions of serfs upon the providential escape from danger of the Sovereign to whose head and heart they owe the blessings of their freedom.

There being no objection, the joint resolution received its several readings.

Mr. Grinnell called for the yeas and nays on the passage of the resolution.

The following was the result:

Yeas, 124; nays, none. So the joint resolution was passed unanimously.

FAVORS TO SOLDIERS.—The President recommends soldiers to favor in appointments to office, and the new Democratic municipal administration at Hartford has turned out from a messenger's place a one-legged soldier who was appointed to the position last winter and had been able to discharge its duties with some assistance from his wife and son. Patrick McCarty, an able-bodied Irishman, is the soldier's successor.

TESTIMONY OF GEN. SHERIDAN.

THE testimony of Gen. Phil. Sheridan, forwarded by mail from New Orleans, in response to interrogatories sent to him by Senator Williams, as Chairman of the sub-Committee, is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, MILITARY DIVISION OF THE GULF, NEW ORLEANS, La., March, 31, 1866.

To the Hon. GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, *Chairman of the Committee for the Investigation of Affairs in Louisiana, Texas and Florida, Senate Chamber Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Your communication of the 23d ult., requesting certain information as to affairs in Louisiana, Texas and Florida, came duly to hand; but owing to my absence in Florida I have been prevented from responding at an earlier day. In compliance with your request, I have the honor to submit herewith my opinions on the subjects therein particularized:

Q. What are now the feelings of those who took part in the rebellion and sympathized with it towards the General government? *A.* I believe they accept the situation and have an earnest desire for the restoration of a perfect Union, but exhibit at the same time an unmistakable desire to glorify rebellion.

Q. What has been the effect of the unstinted exercise of the pardoning power upon such persons? Has it made them more friendly or otherwise towards the Federal government? *A.* I have noticed no particular change in sentiment on account of the clemency of the Executive.

Q. What would be the effect, in your opinion, upon the State organization if the people were left without control to act for themselves? *A.* I believe they would quarrel among themselves, and that the sensible and substantial people would regret the absence of the military force.

Q. Are the offices of the State now in the hands of loyal or disloyal men? *A.* A very large number of the offices of the State are in the hands of returned Confederate soldiers and other active participants in the rebellion; I am unable to say what their actual sentiments are in reference to the General government, but think their outspoken sentiments depend, to some extent, on what is their best policy in order to hold the offices; I have seen those high in authority in a transition state for the same reason.

Q. What are regarded as the chief recommendations for office, and what sort of persons would be elected without any outside influence? *A.* The inclination to glorify rebellion gives those who were active participants in it the preference for election by the people or appointment by those in power.

Q. What would be the condition of the loyal men if they were left without any protection by the Federal government? *A.* My impression is that for the present they would feel unsafe, and many of them leave the country.

Q. State your opinion as to the necessity for the continuance of a military force in your department, and your reasons for this opinion. *A.* I consider it necessary to maintain a military force in my division for the following reasons: To give security to Northern capital and Union people, and to give an actual and moral support to the freedman until he has time to work out his social status. I also believe its presence necessary to prevent quarrelling among the Southern people themselves.

Q. What is your opinion as to the necessity and expediency of the Freedmen's Bureau? *A.* The Freedmen's Bureau gives that security to the freedman which arises from having some one to look after and advocate his interests; a change might be made by appointing an Inspector-General of Freedmen, with the necessary number of Assistant-Inspectors, under charge of the Department Commander, which would be much more economical; but it would be imposing duties on the military which I do not recommend, as I think it should have as little as possible to do with civil affairs.

Q. What would be the condition and fate of the freedmen if left without protection under the exclusive control of the white people there? *A.* I fear there would be a great deal of trouble; a large number of the people would act in good faith towards them, but there would be many who would not, and a war of races, to some extent, would probably be the consequence.

Q. State fully your opinion as to the capacity of the colored people. What do they know, and to what extent can they exercise the rights of freemen? Are they willing or unwilling to work without physical compulsion, with kind treatment and fair wages, and state what, in your judgment, is the best course for Congress to pursue in reference to those people? *A.* The colored race, like all other races, have different degrees of intelligence and capacity; in New Orleans, where colored people are better treated than in any other city in the United States, there is an excellent colored society, and a very high degree of refinement exists in it; starting from this you can go into the State of Louisiana and find the colored man about as ignorant as it is possible for any human being to be; the freedmen, so far as I am informed, have a great desire to learn; I cannot say whether they learn rapidly or not; I believe they are willing to work, because their necessities compel them to do so; in this they are like all other races; I never have known a white or a black man who was performing manual labor for the love of it; I believe the best thing that Congress or States can do is to legislate as little as possible in reference to the colored man beyond giving him security in his person and property; his social status will be worked out by the logic of the necessity for this labor; it is the only labor that can be obtained in the South for some time to come.

Q. Please make such suggestions as occur to your mind as to the most judicious and efficient remedies for the evils that exist in your department, growing out of the late rebellion. *A.* The feeling and sentiment of those within the limit of my command is as good, perhaps, as could be expected, still not satisfactory; the people of Louisiana are poor, and to the best of my knowledge heavy mortgages exist upon, perhaps, the majority of the plantations in the State for debts contracted before the war; in many instances the plantations will fall into the hands of Northern people, who, from present appearances, will at no very distant period control Louisiana even in sentiment; having this prospect before them, it is not surprising that a spirit of bitterness and dissent should exist; I believe that a majority of the people are not opposed to the General government, and in fact earnestly desire to be restored to a perfect union with the other States; still sufficient time has not yet elapsed to efface the recollection of their having been reduced from affluence to limited means, the chagrin of being conquered, and to submerge the idea of justifying rebellion and its representatives; this later idea and its consequences prevail to so great an extent that I consider the retention of the military in Louisiana for some time as necessary to the security of emigrants, freedmen and capital; Florida is not poor from old debts and havoc of war, like Louisiana, and the tone and sentiment of the people is very fair, and a real desire is manifested to be restored to a perfect union; Texas has increased in wealth by the rebellion; among the best people there is a very good feeling toward the government; there is a class of lawless people there, however, which this sentiment does not control, and which cannot be controlled but by the military; the sentiment in this State will not change from the influence of Northern emigration and Northern capital, as in the State of Louisiana; it is essential that the military, in considerable force, be maintained in the Department of Texas.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major-General Commanding.

"WHAT THE POPULAR WILL HAS DONE."—The Boston *Transcript*, it is to be feared at least, speaks for a vast proportion of the Republican party in the following. Such "Unionists" as compose the New York and most other delegations to whom the *Transcript* refers, have not generally included justice, suffrage and citizenship to the colored man as essential to national "*unity and safety.*"

"Senator Wilson has introduced into the Senate another amendment to the Constitution basing representation in the rebellious States on the number of male citizens allowed to exercise the elective franchise. The New York delegation in Congress have adopted similar doctrines as the foundation for their action, but their platform also includes permanent exclusion from office of all the prominent officials, either civil or military, who held positions under the Confederate government—a very salutary and wise provision, it seems to us.

"The opinions of other delegations are said to accord with those of the New York. Indications, therefore, point decidedly to an agreement of the loyal men in Congress upon propositions similar in substance and spirit to the measure which failed of obtaining in the Senate the requisite constitutional support of two-thirds when it was recently proposed. It is evident that the influence of the popular will upon Representatives and Senators has convinced them of the impolicy of longer delaying some definite movement with regard to reconstruction, announcing the terms upon which the Southern States shall be admitted into the Union. Let the conditions be such as will secure the exclusion of the Copperheads from a predominating influence in the councils of the nation, and place the safety and unity of the country beyond peril, and Unionists everywhere will be fully satisfied.

CONNECTICUT. — INAUGURATION OF GOV. HAWLEY.

[On Wednesday, May 2d, the new government of Connecticut was installed at New Haven. Below are extracts from Gov. Hawley's address:]

DURING the past year a majority of our voters rejected the constitutional amendment designed to restore the right of suffrage to a small class of citizens who have been denied it because of their color, since the year 1818. Though you have the exclusive right to take action upon such amendments, permit me to express a hope that within a reasonable time the question may be again submitted. If the denial be an injustice, a right decision is more important to us than to the colored man. They are few among us, but our example has an influence elsewhere, and sound moral and political philosophy teach that no considerable class or race can be excluded from a share in government without working evil to all. The qualifications of intelligence and morality prescribed by our fundamental laws are universally approved among us, and I sincerely hope that we may soon yield cheerfully to the irresistible drift of liberal principles, and, requiring those qualifications alone, frankly recognize the rights of all men. Our country turns willingly from the subsiding clamors of war, rejoices over the great good already secured, and hails gladly the indications of reviving prosperity and fraternal feeling. Wherever our late enemies accept the result with frank good faith, they should be met at the first step with a cordial welcome. Our people were not actuated by malicious or revengeful motives in the struggle. We exult that we destroyed great wrongs, not that we conquered our brethren. It is not expected that all who willingly engaged in the rebellion will speedily lose their prejudices, or even their hatreds, however earnestly that is to be desired. As to the great mass of the people involved in treason, it is the promise of the future and not the record of the past that statesmanship will consult. And the heart of the nation yearningly long for the day of full restoration, when every State in all its parts shall be performing its natural functions in the great system, without external interference or restraint; and when all extraordinary powers, assumed and wielded to save the national life, may be laid away with the idle weapons of war. But the nation loves liberty and justice above all else. The rebellion was a terrible, an infamous crime, rotten and leprous all over with foul conspiracy, perjury and murder, and so history and legislation will record and brand it. Though defective laws or false mercy may fail to demand the forfeited life of a single traitor, the country will never consent that any but loyal men shall receive its favor or sit among its rulers. When States declare themselves out of the Union, and bring their citizens with great unanimity to make desperate war during four years upon the Republic, and then, failing only through lack of physical force, declare themselves in the Union, truly devoted to its principles and entitled immediately to the exercise and enjoyment of all their previous powers and rights, we may and do give honorable heed to their words; but it is the nation's right and duty to examine fully the new organizations of those States, learn the purpose of the new rulers thereof and test the whole by the legislative action they take, and by the security and happiness enjoyed by the steadfastly and unquestionably loyal among them. It may be that all those States are not in the hands of majorities determined to be faithful to the Union; it may surely be that when we consider the cost of our vindication of national sovereignty, something may be needed to fortify the future of the Republic. Upon all this let the legislative power of the Federal government decide, speedily, by all means, if it can, but thoroughly and soundly in any event. There will be great inequalities and a certain promise of future agitations and convulsions, if the entire population of the lately insurgent States be included in the basis of Federal representation, while four million remain excluded from even the hope of becoming voters. And the war having been a success, we must affirm that it effected the destruction of slavery, in fact as well as in name; the abandonment, as a rule of action, of the perpetually disorganizing doctrine of secession; security against any taxation to pay debts contracted in aid of treason, and full protection, safety and honor, everywhere, for the rights of all loyal citizens, without distinction of race or color. These things were fairly won; they look to security for the future, and are not a part of any idle claim to indemnity for the past: they are not selfishly sought for a class or party, but demanded for all mankind; and they are essential to the success and glory of a Christian, democratic government.

ADMISSION OF COLORADO AS A STATE.

[The following is from the Washington *Republican*, the lip and lung of the President:]

THE radical programme is rapidly developing itself. It is signally Machiavellian. The master of Italian political chicanery would look with awe and admiration, were he upon the earth, at the supreme audacity and impunity of his disciples, who flourish under the title of Radical. Under pretended devotion to liberty, they are sacrificing the institutions which have been the glory of freedom.

While charging the Executive with misuse of power, they are usurping authority and centralizing power which will soon blot out all the bulwarks of public liberty, and place government wholly within the power of a Congressional mob. In its warfare for consideration, Colorado plays an important part. This would-be State, after having been rejected in the Senate on principle, was afterward forced through under party drill, for political purposes. It is soon to try its chances in the House, where we presume that party machinery will manipulate this feeble and uncertain collection of wandering humanity into the rights and privileges of a sovereign State.

The radical fiat has gone forth that two more votes are needed in the Senate to make a reliable majority against the President of the United States, in order to strip him of the power with which the Constitution and the people have invested him, and to ride rough shod over the great conservative checks which have been provided for the defence of our liberties.

Therefore the Senate has been compelled under party dictation to reverse its action, which was rendered under a profound regard for the public interest, and has since given to the straggling community of Colorado equal dignity and power with the imperial State of New York.

"Rotten boroughs" have been the scorn and ridicule of England for years; and now, in this famed Republic of ours, we are reviving the hateful system of making members to legislative bodies without any valid consistency, and copying the worst features of the obnoxious English custom, for the sake of a few party votes.

CHARACTER OF A. JOHNSON'S APPOINTEES.—A Washington dispatch to the Boston *Traveler* says:

"It is charged that a man who in 1861 declared that Mr. Lincoln should not be inaugurated except it was wading through his blood, had been appointed to a place in the Treasury Department since the President's order was issued.

"The man's name is Lammoned, and he is so disloyal that Secretary Harlan removed him from a place in the Interior Department.

"Mr. McCulloch in defiance of the President's order, so it is charged, put the copperhead into a place in the Treasury, instead of a soldier."

THE PRESIDENT AND THE DELEGATES FROM TEXAS.

AN interview was held on Wednesday last between the President and a Committee appointed by the Texas State Convention, who delivered to him an official copy of the ordinances adopted by that body. Judge Hancock concluded his address by saying:

"We should feel that we had only partially performed our duty to the people of our State were we to omit expressing to your Excellency our cordial approbation of your course as President of the United States, and particularly our approval of your reconstruction policy.

"Your wise and patriotic course in behalf of the equal rights of all sections of the country, has revived fresh hope in many a desponding heart, that the generation which has experienced the most terrible shock of civil war in modern times, will see civil and constitutional liberty restored throughout the entire land. We thank you in the name of the people of Texas for the noble and patriotic stand you have taken in behalf of constitutional rights.

"The olive branch of peace extended to us by your kindly hand, we accept in grateful spirit, and pledge to you the support, earnest and thorough, of the people of Texas in all measures that will tend to restore the State to its pristine position among the States of the American Union.

"May God preserve your Excellency many years in health and prosperity—an instrument, under His guidance, to restore the government of our fathers and preserve the liberties of the people."

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President thanked the Committee for the kind and complimentary manner in which their chairman had alluded to his efforts in restoring the States so lately in rebellion and insurrection to their primitive relations with the government of the United States.

He was gratified to learn from them the unanimity of the people of Texas, who had accepted the results of the war. He expressed the hope that the State of Texas, together with all of the other States so recently in rebellion, would soon be restored to their normal condition in the Federal government, and that their citizens, while bearing its burdens, would be admitted to a full participation in its blessings and protection.

The President said he had the utmost confidence in the ultimate restoration of the Union, and that time and patience would solve the problem. Much would depend on the people of the State of Texas, if they continued in the good work so auspiciously begun, and by obedience to law demonstrate their loyalty to the government. Then he trusted the day would not be far distant when the work of restoration would be completed by the admission of their Senators and Representatives to fill vacant places in Congress.

CONFISCATION OF REBEL PROPERTY.

[In the Summer of 1862, Congress, driven by the extremity of much military disaster, enacted, by a large majority, many Democrats approving, a strong confiscation law against the rebels. Treason under it was subjected to terrible penalties, death included. All property of rebels was confiscated, and their slaves set free. No rebel was afterward to hold any office in the government. Slaves of persons aiding the rebellion, coming into the Federal army lines, were free. No slave of such person could ever be retaken. These were parts of the penalty. That law has never been repealed. But to what it amounts under Andrew Johnson, the Congress looking silently on, let the following show. It is from the Washington special correspondence of the New York *Times*, under date Washington, Friday, May 4:]

THE President sent a message to the House of Representatives in answer to a resolution requesting the names of persons worth more than $20,000 to whom special pardons have been issued, and a statement of the amount of property which has been seized as belonging to the enemies of the government, or as abandoned property, and returned to those who claimed to be the original owners.

Accompanying the message is a communication from the Secretary of State, who reports to the President that of the seven thousand one hundred and ninety-seven cases of pardons passed upon by the Attorney-General there still remain in the State Department seven hundred and seven cases which, not yet having been finally disposed of, have been stricken from the accompanying list. The Attorney-General, in a communication to the President, says it does not appear from the records of his office, how much property, real, personal and mixed, has been seized and forfeited to the United States under the act of 1862 as enemies property; nor do they show any property taken from officers of the United States and returned to the enemies of the government; nor is there anything in that office in regard to abandoned property.

The list of pardons granted under the Amnesty Proclamation of the President under the 13th exception, is as follows: Georgia, 1,228; North Carolina, 482; Texas, 269; New-Mexico, 1; Mississippi, 765; Louisiana, 142; Alabama, 1,361; South Carolina, 638; Arkansas, 41; Missouri, 10; Kentucky, 12; Florida, 38; West Virginia, 48.

A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury says, as to how much property, real, personal and mixed has been seized as forfeited to the United States has been returned to those who claimed to be the original owners, there is no information in the Department on the subject as understood from the general and vague terms of the resolution. It is presumed the act alluded to is that of July 17, 1862, the execution of which, as he understands, was committed by the President to the Attorney-General, and so far as he advised, the Treasury Department has not undertaken in any case the enforcement of its several provisions, or to release any property held as forfeited under them so far as the Department is concerned. The abandoned or confiscable lands heretofore held by it were turned over, under the Secretary's circular letter of June 27 last, to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress, approved March 3, 1865, and Executive orders on the subject, and that no freedmen occupying any of said lands have been displaced by any action of the Department at the request or for the benefit of returning rebels.

The Secretary of War, in his communication to the President, incloses several reports, among them, one from the Adjutant-General's Office, saying there are no records therein pertaining to the restoration of property as defined in the resolution of inquiry. Quartermaster-Gen. Meigs says the railroads captured and held as a military necessity have been returned to the companies under Executive orders of the 8th of August and the 14th of October

set apart for the use of refugees and freedmen by a circular. It became apparent, however, that much of it had been improperly seized, and to avoid injustice, action under the circular was temporarily suspended. Part of this property had been merely libeled. Against part the proceedings had reached a decree of condemnation and sale. Very little, however, was actually sold. On Sept. 12, 1865, Circular No. 15, series of 1865, was issued to govern the action of the Bureau respecting property. This circular, originally drafted by the Commissioner, was submitted to the President, who materially amended it, and it was promulgated as received from him. With respect to property seized under the act of July 17, 1862, this circular declares that it shall be regarded as confiscated only after an actual sale has taken place, and directs Assistant Commissioners of the Bureau to restore it when it appears satisfactorily that it has not been confiscated. Such property has, therefore, been restored upon proof that proceedings against it had been dismissed in the United States Courts. The records of the office do not show whether parties to whom such property has been restored were connected with the army of the so-called Confederate States, or whether they gave aid or comfort to the rebellion. Gen. Howard says the estate of William Aiken, in South Carolina, was restored by order of Maj.-Gen. Sickles, commanding the Department Three estates were surrendered for the reason they were not actually abandoned. Of the remainder some were given because very few freedmen were resident upon them, and those could be more advantageously located elsewhere. The others were restored after mutually satisfactory agreements had been entered into between the freedmen and the former owners. All of these pieces of property were embraced in Gen. Sherman's Field Order No. 15, and the authority for the action taken by the Bureau in respect to them was derived from the instructions of the President, contained in General Orders No. 145 from the War Department, bearing date Oct. 9, 1865. The property held under the act of July, 1862, and the abandoned property actually allotted to resident freedmen, comprised but a small portion of the entire amount which the Bureau has held in its possession. In August, 1865, an application was received from B. B. Lake, of Tennessee, a former soldier of the rebel army, who had received a special pardon. His property was clearly abandoned, and his application was not granted. An appeal was made to the President, and on the 15th of August was received at the Bureau with the following indorsement:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Aug. 16, 1865.

Respectfully returned to the Commissioner's Bureau. R. FOX.

The records of this office show that B. B. Lake was specially pardoned by the President on the 27th ult., and was thereby restored to all rights of property except as to slaves. Notwithstanding this, it is understood the possession of his property is withheld from him. I have therefore to direct that Gen. Fisk, Assistant-Commissioner at Nashville, Tenn., be instructed by the Chief-Commissioner of the Bureau of Freedmen, etc., to relinquish possession of the property of Mr. Lake, held by him as Assistant-Commissioner, etc., and that the same be immediately restored to Mr. Lake. The same action will be had in all similar cases.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States.

In complying with these definite instructions, the Bureau has been compelled to part with the greater portion of the property once under its control, except in the very few cases where property has been actually sold under the act of July 19, 1862; and in that portion of South Carolina and Georgia embraced in the provisions of Gen. Sherman's Field Order No. 14, its tenure of property has been too uncertain to justify allotments to freedmen. In addition to the property seized under the act of 1862, and abandoned property allotted to freedmen, 400,000 acres of abandoned lands, not allotted to freedmen, have been restored to former owners.

RECAPITULATION.—Property seized under the act of July, 1862, and restored by the Bureau, 15,452 acres; abandoned property allotted to freedmen, and restored by the Bureau, 14,652 acres; abandoned property not allotted to freedmen, restored by the Bureau, 400,000 acres. Total 430,104 acres.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN BALTIMORE.—I heard a good thing just now under my window. You shall have it. You don't get good things, you know, every day. It is a very fair "straw." Three men get earnest as they pass and stop to hear again what one has said. "At the circus the other night a lot of white men were standing up in front of some colored people who were seated. 'Here you white trash,' said Dan Rice, 'you sit down and let those colored people have a chance.'" The narrator evidently was indignant at this practical exemplification of *civil* rights. "That's just as it should be," shouted the old man to whom he told it.

We progress here, but some things are very funny. You are in the horse cars; the bell rings. In due process a big colored woman makes her way, with a white child in her arms. Room is made for her. Men and women sit a little closer. Not a face has a look of indignation. It is all right. No bad smell or anything, and on we go, a most happy, contented, civil company. You can't quite keep the corners of your mouth quiet, when on recovering your surprise, you remember that the *white child* is the thing that does it, and that that same woman might have plead, by all that was holy and hopeful, and she never could have got her seat without it. Funny thing, prejudice! It has as little brains as heart.

The Great Fair has closed. I do not think it has done the Southern cause any good. The Union people have been very discrete under great provocation. The managers were compelled, in spite of the remonstrance of the women, to raise the flag of the country they affect to despise, to which they owe all that they have and all that gives them any character. Mosby and Semmes were lionized. It was hard to bear, but it was all borne, and the result in money is said to be over $100,000. Two ladies have died from the labor and excitement.

The "whole world" is out doors, and from now till November you will find the population on the outside of the houses. It gives a very pleasant appearance to the streets, and promotes the most free and easy intercourse. You visit from door-step to door-step. You thread your way among acres of playing children, and, far into the night, you will find the people seeking a little coolness on the pavements or at the door. I confess I like it. It wouldn't be a bad thing in dear old staid, chronic Boston.

You like a good story now and then. A certain church here has as its motto upon the outer walls, "To the poor the gospel is preached." One morning these words were found painted under it—"Not here though."—*Cor. Boston Transcript.*

TERRIBLE RIOT AT MEMPHIS.—On Wednesday evening of last week a riot occurred at Memphis, more serious from accounts than any other since the close of the war. A dispatch says: This evening [Wednesday] a serious riot occurred in the southern portion of the city between policemen and negro soldiers, growing out of an attempt of the police officers to arrest a white man, whom the negroes determined to protect.

Twenty to thirty policemen assembled and kept up a fight for a couple of hours with about one hundred and fifty negroes.

About 30 houses occupied by colored people, and all the negro school-houses in south Memphis were pulled down or burned last night.

Ten negroes were killed during the day and night.

Eight to ten negroes were killed and several wounded.

The Sixteenth United States regular infantry were finally called out to restore order, and at ten o'clock everything was quiet.

Another dispatch says: The negroes in South Memphis this morning [Thursday] fired on a citizen, wounding him, and assaulted a white woman. The sheriff's posse attempted to disarm all the negroes. They fled to Fort Pickering, firing as they ran. They were driven from the fort this evening and sought the woods. During the excitement seven negroes and one citizen were killed, and a few houses burned. The military has been under arms all day. All is quiet to-night.

On Friday morning one more negro was killed and one house burned, since which all is reported quiet.

REJECTED.—The nomination of Frank Blair as Internal Revenue Collector of St. Louis was rejected by a vote of nearly three to one, only the Democrats voting for him, and several Republicans who sustain the President's policy being absent. F. V. L. Finley of Baltimore, nominated for an Assessor of Internal Revenue by the Montgomery Blair influence, was also rejected.

EAST KINGSTON, N. H., has neither minister, lawyer, doctor nor town pauper. We once knew a town in Ohio that was as singularly furnished every way as that, except the doctor; and besides it had no store, barroom or saloon where liquors were sold and there was no meeting-house but one of logs belonging to the Quakers. This state of things lasted a number of years.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1866.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE annual NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston at the MELODEON on Wednesday, May 30th, at 10 o'clock, a. m.

The great interests involved in the present political crisis call for a full attendance and full expression of opinions from all the friends of human rights and reform on this occasion. By order of the managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

JOHN T. SARGENT, Pres.
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Rec. Sec.

THE CHURCH AS THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD.

THE most perfect aristocracy in the world is the church. The purest despotism is the pulpit. It is the same, Jewish or Christian, Catholic or Protestant. And assuming these two powers (or one, conjoined) to be what they should be, what they claim to be, this would be right. The loyalty of the religious element in man is ever above suspicion. And it is exactly adapted to a divine leadership. What a faithful mother is to her babe, the church should be to the soul. To all souls. It should hold, need hold no other relation. Then it could and should control all human affairs. It would be the light of God's own countenance, like the sun, irradiating the world of human kind. Constitutions, courts, societies, families, all should and would bow reverently before it. Any law, rule, or regulation made in violation of its authority would be null and void.

But unfortunately, the church arrogates to itself all divine rights and prerogatives (and the world concedes them), while she can lay no claim to either the purity or perfection which would entitle her to such profound and universal homage. Our own national history is a most instructive and melancholy illustration. The Bible has been the accepted record and standard of the divine will. What it enacts, men hold the "*higher law*," ever and everywhere. And the church has been the sole interpreter to the law making, the law judging, and the law executing power, since we were a nation. And led by her light, the New England colonists found full justification for exterminating Indians and seizing their lands, in the destruction of the Canaanites by Joshua and the Hebrew fillibusters who fought under him. Indian captives of all ages were sold, sent to the West Indies and to Africa, all under divine sanction and approval.

Quaker women were stripped, whipped, imprisoned, hung, and Baptists were banished and punished in various cruel forms for daring to differ with the creeds and catechisms that inculcated such outrages on human nature and the dictates of humanity and reason. The pulpit found it written also in the Jewish code, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and so belief in witches became a necessity. And while learned men or women believed in witches, of course witches were. And wherever witches were, there they were put to death. And it is a historical fact that New England religion clamored for more victims, a good while after the courts, in obedience to more enlightened public sentiment, had refused to convict for the impossible crime.

So also the statutes regulating the observance of the first day of the week are due to the same influence. The clergy were once included among the learned men, as the word denotes. And books in the learned professions, so called, were in the old languages. The Scriptures got translated before the commentaries; and the theological works, like those on law and medicine, were mostly in the Latin tongue. It was in this state of the world's literature and religion, that our present clergy were able to usurp and crystalize the power they still hold over the popular faith and action. They interpret the Bible to-day to the Legislator, and nothing is enacted against their decision. The moral convulsion attending the nominal divorce of the civil and ecclesiastical power in this country was scarcely inferior in degree to that of the revolution itself. So reluctant was the church to yield her place and power at the bed and board of the State, where she had both ruled and been comfortably nourished for almost two hundred years. But a more enlightened civilization demanded the change, and no pretentious sanctity could resist the claim.

Theological dogmas also are compelled to postpone their demands to the popular respect, through the same irresistible causes. The orthodox church enforced her doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty to such an extent as to consign even innocent infancy to eternal fires. Rev. Dr. Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" was all ablaze with that monstrous doctrine. And Dr. Cotton Mather, in the author's funeral sermon, predicted (such was the merit of the work) that it would perhaps be a children's treasure, down to the day of doom itself; though now, no Sunday-school library has it, perhaps never had it. But even Dr. Wigglesworth abated so much of the terror of the dread penalty as to make the great Judge say of their sin:

"A crime it is, therefore in bliss,
You may not hope to dwell;
But unto you I will allow
The easiest rooms in hell!"

The power of the church still upholds many evils in the name of God. Witches and heretics are no longer hung, or burned. It was humanity, however, outside the church, that wrought the change. And that same advancing spirit of enlightened reason will one day, in spite of the church, hew down the gallows altogether and cast it into the fire. But for the church, it would have been down long ago. Juries shudder at rendering verdicts where the penalty is death. Judges turn pale, and pronounce the sentence with quivering lip. And at the gallows, human nature so revolts, that the very hangmen mangle their work often into a horrible murder of the victim.

But it was upon slavery that the church wielded the mightiest power, and hence this article. Slavery is older, as an institution, than this government, but not older than the church. The Constitution found it here—did not make it. It did not create it, though it did not abolish it. Why should it, when the church had laid its foundations on the apostles, the prophets and patriarchs, and hallowed it by her own example a hundred and fifty years! Or why blame the revolutionary fathers for not exterminating it, thus divinely honored and defended! True the French Revolutionists led by Robespierre installed their new government with a proclamation of liberty, equality, and right to the pursuit of happiness, irrespective of all color or race. And all the slaves were free. But Robespierre and his compeers were infidels and atheists, and knew not Abraham as a slaveholder, nor Paul as a catcher or returner of fugitive slaves.

The Anti-Slavery movement at the first, unlike most of the benevolent enterprises, was outside the church, and independent of it. But its immense importance soon made it too prominent to be overlooked by that body and it began to espouse its interests and to attempt to control its operations, and especially to make it subserve party and sectarian purposes. Failing in this it withdrew and attempted another and rival organization. It combined at the outset a department of politics, nominated candidates, and in full political panoply, entered the arena of party strife. It gathered numbers by pawning its principles; but like other brokers in virtue, it had but brief existence.

The fearful onslaughts of slavery after the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the enactment and frequent execution of the Fugitive Slave law and the terrible apocalypse of Kansas, were events so momentous as to compel a testimony against them from everybody not case-hardened in the crimes and cruelties of the system. The American Anti-Slavery Society and its few auxiliaries were fully awake and alive to the stern demands of the hour. Both the great political parties were swept from their old moorings and compelled to utter their reluctant protest at least against the farther flight of this fell archangel, from whose wings were shed all conceivable woes. Foreign nations looked on aghast while we enacted the direst drama of despotism the world had known, and all in the name of democratic and republican freedom!

In such a crisis, how could the church remain silent? Injustice and cruelty had so ruled and reigned as to excite the horror of mankind. And yet she did remain silent, with inconsiderable exceptions, in most of her tabernacles. The Anti-Slavery Society she had long denounced as infidelity and regarded with abhorrence. A few of the smaller and less popular sects maintained a testimony and a position against the general iniquity. So did a very few individuals in the larger denominations. All these exceptions, however, individual and otherwise, could not and did not affect the general result.

To be a faithful Abolitionist was to be branded as a heretic, blasted as an infidel. So a handful of men including a very few ministers formed what was called "the Church Anti-Slavery Society. The horror it manifested towards slavery was not greater than it exhibited towards the Garrisonian Abolitionists. Its zeal for God and the Bible almost made it a fair subject of ridicule, especially when it was seen that the great body it wished to win over to the cause of freedom and humanity, scorned it if possible even more than the older Anti-Slavery Societies. Indeed that body, especially its ministers, did make mirth and mockery of this new and well-intended effort to bring it up to the demands of justice and righteousness. And the good the new society did with all its show of religion and reverence for the Bible, was, to prove the church out of which it came a liar and hypocrite when it urged the infidelty of the Abolitionists as a reason for not co-operating with them. And though it has now only a name to live, that one work was worth more than many such associations would cost.

In one word, the popular church, the accepted organized religion, is always a little behind the popular sentiment. Every genuine reform has fought its way up through it. Peace, Purity, Temperance, Anti-Slavery have all had their supporters in the church and pulpit. But the worst opposition too has come from that source. Had the church been ex-officio a Peace, a Temperance, a Moral Reform and an Anti-Slavery Society, no new or special organizations to promote these objects would have been formed. But the church was not these; was none of these, and so they had to come into being. And these four great elements are almost the four wheels of the chariot of salvation. The church, as a body, to this hour opposes, or at least does not seek to promote any real work of reform. Was it Macaulay who said the church had never been on the side of reform and the people, in a single instance for two hundred years, *not even by accident?*

What light is the American church casting on the question of reconstruction at this moment? She has the voice of the seven apocalyptic thunders, would she but speak out. Numerically, she could control any election in the nation. Morally, she might wield the might of omnipotence. But she asks her rebel membership to return, with no penitence for the past, no promise for the future. Her policy is worse than that of President Johnson. She saw Colorado (Color-ado!) admitted to the Union with the word white dishonoring its constitution, and prophesying more calamity to come, perhaps more bloody war. Timid women and men, too, dare not wear some articles of dress or ornament in a thunder-shower. But Colorado has put on the very drapery to draw down the lightnings of God's wrath upon her, and at a moment, too, when the thunders of the late war still echo among the Cumberland and Alleghany mountains. And the church does not protest. The church will not protest. The Freedmen's Aid Society to-day, imperfect as it is, has more of salvation in it for the colored race, than all the combined churches and ministers composing the Congregational, Presbyterian (Old School and New), Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal denominations. And the anti-slavery cause, still extant, by grace of God, demanding justice, equal, impartial to all men, irrespective of race, complexion or condition, holds in its keeping the whole destiny of the nation. If saved, these are the conditions. If lost, it will be for disregard of them. And when Peace and Purity prevail, when the nation is saved, if it ever be, when Slavery has given up the ghost, when the black man is known by manhood and not by color, when woman, too, is a citizen, equal every way with man, when the gallows is consigned forever to remorseless fire, so that no more witches, no more victims are murdered upon it by ecclesiastical or civil laws, and the life of man is held as sacred as the life of God himself, from whom it is derived and of whom it is a part, and humanity generally accepts, approves and admires these millennial glories, the very church herself, "*light of the world,*" so called, will also accept, approve and admire, no matter how opposed to-day; and so coming in "*after the fulness of the Gentiles,*" all our American Israel shall yet be saved.

RECEPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN.—The Springfield *Republican* is not alone in saying the Radical wing of the Republican party is disappointed and dissatisfied with the report of the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction. The omission of a provision for equal suffrage—the very thing most desired and for which everything else would have been willingly sacrificed—cannot readily be acquiesced in. Vengeance upon the secesh, in the way of disfranchisement, is felt to be very poor compensation for equal rights to the colored men. Indeed the favorite idea was universal suffrage and universal amnesty. The Committee's plan is no suffrage for the blacks and none for the whites, a mere handful of original Union men excepted, and amnesty for nobody. The New York *Tribune* confesses the unworthiness of the whole scheme, but advises the Republicans to accept it and adopt it, because Congress is not likely to produce anything better. But why give it up so? It is a mere report of a Committee as yet, and very crude and incongruous at that. After the long consideration and debate on the subject, the report was at last hastily patched up out of pieces of several different schemes, and adopted in sheer desperation, because something must be done. Congress has had several better schemes of reconstruction before it during the session, and there is no reason why the Committee's scheme may not be essentially modified and improved, or a better one substituted for it. Surely this joint committee has not become a third house, so superior to the other two that its decisions must be received and enacted without question.

THE ANNIVERSARY.—But a small part of the proceedings are given to-day. Next week the principal addresses of the occasion may be expected; and in better condition, than would have been possible in this paper. The weather was most propitious, the attendance excellent, the speeches several of them forcible, the resolutions unmistakable in tone, and the general interest in a good degree becoming the importance of the present hour.

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE AND THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.—The *World* calls the letter of Judge Chase to the Anti-Slavery Society, "a left-handed slap at the agitators." It says:

The agitators for an enforced negro suffrage at the South have just received a left-handed slap from their favorite demagogue, Chief-Justice Chase. In a letter to the Anti-Slavery Society, now holding its annual palaver here, the Chief-Justice says:

"I have heard the difference between the production of the lately insurgent States with universal suffrage, and the production of the same States without it, estimated at one hundred millions of dollars a year. At this rate, the injustice of the denial of suffrage will cost those States, will cost the nation, five hundred millions of dollars in five years—enough to pay nearly one-fifth of the national debt."

By whom this remarkable calculation was made, the Chief-Justice does not inform us, nor upon what elements it has been framed. Assuming it, however, to be a calculation possible to be made, and to have been accurately worked out, the Chief-Justice goes on to ask:

"Is it too much to expect that sensible and patriotic men in those States will, before long, see their true interest in their plain duty, and join hands with those who seek, not their injury or their humiliation, but their welfare and their honor, in equal rights for all?"

Whoever reads the letter through will see that it is a "slap" for which the true "agitators" will be ever ready to turn the other cheek.

PEACE CONVENTION.—An adjourned meeting of the Peace Convention of March last, in Boston, will be held in Normal Hall, Broad street, Providence, Rhode Island, on Monday of next week (16th inst.) at ten o'clock in the forenoon, to be continued through the day and evening.

EVERY SATURDAY.—This Weekly is, in our opinion precisely what it claims to be,—a journal of *choice* reading selected from current literature. The editor has the range of all the English and Continental Reviews, Magazines, and first-class Weeklies, which press into their service the ablest, wisest, and wittiest writers of Europe.

There have been excellent short stories, thrilling adventures, exquisite poems, graphic historical sketches, popular scientific articles such as appear originally only in English and French periodicals, racy essays in biography, criticism, and anecdote. In fact, it contains the cream of foreign current literature, and is offered at a price that brings it within the reach of all.

Each number is complete in itself. Whoever wishes the freshest and choicest foreign periodical literature, must get *Every Saturday.* It is published by Ticknor and Fields, Boston.

THE GREAT REBELLION.—A History of the Civil War in the United States, by J. T. Headley, author of "Napoleon and his Marshals," "Washington and his Generals," "Sacred Mountains," etc. This is the second volume of this great work, issued by the "American Publishing Company," of Hartford. It is embellished by numerous fine steel engravings; and the work itself is a vivid and faithful portraiture, by an author of genius for historic delineation, of all the important events in our late civil war. It shows the prominent actors in the tragedy—some of them incompetent or unfaithful, and disappearing in defeat or dishonor—others, grand, heroic, moving to victory or honorable death, blessed with the prayers and love of all true patriots. It contains the official reports of Generals Grant and Sherman, and thirty-eight fine steel engravings. Messrs. Scranton and Burn, Hartford, are the agents.

METHODIST RECONSTRUCTION.

THE many affectionate overtures made by Northern Methodists to their Southern brethren and sisters for a reconstruction of the old Union between them seem not at all to prosper. And so some are beginning to oppose farther proffers of fellowship. The *Christian Advocate and Journal* has this week the following:

The movements of the two New York Conferences toward a closer affiliation between the Northern and Southern Methodisms seem not likely to prosper all at once. *Zion's Herald*, the organ of New England Methodism, though its editor has been reckoned less radical than most of his brethren, declares against the whole scheme in a few well-chosen sentences:

"We have never been an advocate for the union of our Church with the Church South. We do not know whether we are fast or slow on this point, in advance of or behind the age; but there we are, with no tendencies to change. When Christian men and women of the South, from the clergy or laity, wish to unite with us because they prefer our Church, love our principles, and are willing to co-operate with us heartily in carrying out our principles, we are willing to receive them, we will ever welcome them. That is as far as we can go. We have prejudices enough in our Church not against the negro, and cannot consent to take in those who are unwilling to treat him as a Christian brother before God and the whole world. We want no spirit of caste, no unrighteous distinction of color in the Church of God.

"We frankly confess that we are not pleased with any overtures yet made to the Church South for union with us, and this, among other reasons, lest it should embarrass us on this vital question. If any do not see this to be a vital question we are sorry for it; we see it only in that light. The question has its roots in the convictions and religious life of the Church, and there will be no peace in her communion until that is rightly settled."

We invite especial attention to the last sentence of this extract. With us who oppose these "fraternal" givings-out, the subject is one of *religious convictions*, and therefore our objections cannot be waived or compromised. In the interests of *peace*, too, we deprecate the making of such overtures, for brethren may be assured that any serious attempt to force or inveigle our Church into new and different relations to the Church South from those fixed by the General Conference, will be the signal for the renewal of the old controversies from which we have so happily escaped, and which, if renewed, will probably rage with increased earnestness and bitterness.

But of the consummation of the Utopian schemes of our promoters of "fraternity" there is happily no danger. It was the case in political affairs, that just before the war the Northern leaders were willing to debase themselves to any extent their Southern masters might dictate, if only the latter would consent to continue to lord it over them; but the slave-drivers would not have them *even on such terms. So now our Southern "brethren" repel the advances made on our part with such hearty self-depreciation, and tell us that our advances are impertinent and "indecent."* We quite agree with them in all this, and confess that *we richly deserve the slap in the face which they give us.*

PERSONAL.

Miss Stebbins, of Chickasaw County, Iowa, has received an appointment as Notary Public for that county. She is the first female ever having received such a commission probably, and is represented as eminently competent.

The Concord *Daily Monitor* reports the death of Dr. James Batcheller, an eminent physician for nearly forty years in Marlboro, N. H., and well known as a Representative, Senator and Councillor, some years since, but still better as an earnest, honest Anti-Slavery man and philanthropist, at the age of 75. He was a native of Royalston, Mass.

At a Freedmen's court recently held in Augusta, Ga., Judge Davis, finding a difficulty in deciding upon a certain case, called in three colored men, made them listen to the argument, and accepted their verdict as his own. This the *Transcript* of that city calls "the first colored jury in Georgia."

Senator Sprague of Rhode Island on inquiring when the District of Columbia unqualified suffrage bill would be called up, said: "For one, I am in favor of no other qualification than honest manhood, and when the bill is brought before the Senate, I intend to offer my views on the propriety of extending suffrage to all the colored men of the South."

Gen. Van Valkenburgh, United States Minister to Japan, and Hon. Anson Burlingame, Minister to China, are in California seeing the lions. They did the Great Yosemite valley and the Geysers, and on their return from the interior were the recipients of a magnificent dinner from the Chinese merchants, who intended to make the demonstration far surpass the famous "Colfax party Chinese dinner" of last season.

Chief-Justice Chase declines to preside at the Circuit Court convened this week at Norfolk and Judge Underwood takes his place. Judge Chase waits to be assured that martial law is abrogated in Virginia. As there have been conflicting decisions in the War Department and by the commanders of military departments as to the effect of the peace proclamation with regard to the restoration of civil law in the States lately in rebellion. The Chief-Justice does not feel that it would be seemly for a Judge of the Supreme Court to attempt to hold court whilst a doubt exists as to whether martial law is abrogated or not.

Hon. Gerrit Smith being addressed by a Committee in behalf of the "eight hour system" answered:

"For very many years the reduction of the hours in a days labor has been a favorite idea with me. I believe that, as a general proposition, no man should work more than six hours a day, and that every man should work so long. Hence I would like to have six hours made the *legal* day's work. It might, it is true, be generations before the practice would correspond with the law. For generations laborers might frequently bring a third or a half more than a legal day's work into a single day,—that is, 8 or 9 hours of work. But in the law for six hours there would be the true principle, the true standard; and practice would be continually approximating it. The objection to the eight-hour plan is that it is not a permanent one, and does not hold up the true principle, the true standard. But eight hours are far better than ten—and therefore I shall rejoice in your success. Enclosed is my draft for $20 toward defraying the expense of the agitation.

Respectfully yours, GERRIT SMITH.

The Mobile *Register*, it is said, nominates Gen. Robt. E. Lee as candidate for the States Rights Democracy in 1868. The Memphis *Argus* doubts the propriety of such a course, and adds:

"Surely, they are no good or true friends of this grand old man, who, in the present posture of affairs, would drag his great name into the filthy arena of party strife. Not till a new and better spirit shall prevail in the politics of this country, and the country shall call for its best men to stand and serve in high places, will it be possible or appropriate to dignify the Presidential chair with a second, and 'greater than Washington.' If, in the approaching political struggles, it becomes necessary, or advisable, or proper, to designate some Conservative candidate for the Presidency in 1868, in our opinion he—our present leader, the great statesman of Tennessee—is the man."

Ladies in Fayetteville, N. C., still loyal to the Confederacy, sent a contribution to its late president and received the following in reply, dated:

FORTRESS MONROE, Va., April 22, 1866.

Mrs. J. K. Kyle, Fayetteville, N. C.:

MY DEAR MADAM: I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 14th inst., inclosing a check to be forwarded to Mrs. Davis, as a present from the ladies of Fayetteville. Sadly remembering how your homes have been desolated during the war, I could not have expected you, in the midst of the ruin, to have been mindful of the wants of those at a distance. Nothing could add to my admiration for the heroic self-denial and Christian virtues of my countrywomen—for the measure was full to overflowing—nor could anything increase the gratitude with which I will ever recur to their confidence and sympathy. It only remains to assure you and the ladies whom you represent that I am most gratefully and respectfully your friend and obedient servant, JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Mrs. Jefferson D. is now with her husband, and, it is said, is constantly receiving letters of advice and inquiry from all parts of the country. She has secured the services of Messrs. Charles O'Conor and George Shea, of New York, in whose hands the case of her husband rests.

A Paris correspondent of the *Herald* says:

Mr. Jacob Thompson, President Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior, is in Paris, whither he arrived with his family from Egypt three days since. Mr. Thompson, in a conversation with a Northern man a few days since, stated that he "accepted the situation;" and more, that were the ban removed from him and the stigma which rests upon his name, upon the charge of having been engaged in the assassination conspiracy, he would go to Mississippi and do his best to aid in the reconstruction. He says there is ample evidence in the hands of the President that he had no connection with or knowledge, however remote, of the assassination plot. His son is carrying on his Mississippi plantation, and has, he says, made satisfactory contracts for work with his former slaves, about two-thirds of whom remain upon his plantation. Mr. Thompson is, I learn, anxious to return to the United States, and expresses himself very freely in favor of the reconstruction policy of President Johnson and upon the necessity of the Southern States accepting the situation and acting with loyalty and good faith.

The same writer adds:

The concert recently given by a committee of ladies here in behalf of the freedmen, amounted to more than four thousand francs, which will be forwarded immediately to New York.

The late Thomas Downing is thus handsomely spoken of in the New York *Commercial Advertiser*. His death was reported in a recent STANDARD.

Mr. Downing was a native of Accomac County, in Virginia, and school-fellow of Henry A. Wise. When that individual was Governor of Virginia, 'Uncle Tom' used jocularly to support him as a candidate for President, contrasting his straighforward course with the hesitating, shuffling policy of the Republican leaders. But after the execution of John Brown the name of Wise was never alluded to by Downing, except as one would speak of a rabid animal.

Downing was born free, his parents having been manumitted by Captain Dawning, their master. An attempt was made to re-enslave the family, but the man was speedily put out of the way. The war of 1812 was followed by increasing unfriendliness in the South to colored freemen, and Downing left his birth-place for the North. He remained a few years in Philadelphia, coming to this city in 1819. The next year he opened his oyster stand in Broad street, just below Wall, where he soon became known and esteemed by the bankers, merchants, and visitors of New York. He was indeed an institution.

On the night of the 17th of December, 1835, that part of New York was devastated by the great fire. The water froze in the hose, and the firemen were powerless. Downing broke into a vinegar cellar near Garden street, opened several barrels of vinegar, and, assisted by Mr. Hale of the *Journal of Commerce*, succeeded in using it to put out the fire. Several buildings filled with valuable property were thus saved. This made Downing a hero. The Common Council employed him to provision the militia companies that served as police; but this was a misfortune. The men had no uniform or badge of distinction; unprincipled men took advantage of the circumstance; he was a negro, and could obtain no redress; and so a matter which ought to have afforded him a handsome little capital actually made him a loser to a considerable amount.

For several years past, the old man showed symptoms of intellectual enfeeblement. He became confused in his mode of expressing his ideas, and often very forgetful; but he never lost his humor, or his power of adjusting his language so as not to offend those with whom he was conversing.

His sense of dignity was very strong. He deplored the abject condition of his race, but he never failed to rebuke colored men severely for their meanness. Most of the persons employed at his restaurant were Irishmen, and they were intellectually and morally, by far his inferiors. He was a prominent member of St. Philip's Church,—the one which had to struggle for many years to obtain its legitimate place in the diocese; but he finally became very much dissatisfied that the members preferred a white rector to one of their own race. The white population, he insisted, could not stand by them if they were not faithful to each other.

When his son George became somewhat notorious for his persistent efforts to secure from Mr. Johnson some acknowledgment of the rights of the freed population, the old man used to excuse himself in a very peculiar way: "I have been 46 years in business," said he, "and, except when I was driven away from Broad street, have not been 46 days absent from my business. No man pays better attention to his busines than that. But I gave my boys an education, and they got out on Wall street, and caught the bad habits of white people. They would be politicians. It is not my fault, but that of the white people."

SUFFRAGE IN TENNESSEE.

THE Radical members of the Tennessee Legislature, after the enactment of their new suffrage law, called on Gov. Brownlow, who addressed them as below. The bill has not come to hand, but what it is may be guessed at from the speech. Probably the colored man is left out, as nothing has been said about him.

I am in no condition, physically, for speaking, as you are aware, and as I know it is principles that you look for, I shall define my position unmistakably, without any effort at oratory. The passage of the Franchise bill by the Senate, to-day, is, doubtless, the cause of you assembling here. I congratulate you and the country on the passage of that measure, by more than a two-thirds vote, in the Senate. The law imposes upon me the responsible task of commissioning men for each county, to register voters and carry out the provisions of the law. I shall endeavor to select men who are unquestionably loyal, determined, brave and incorruptible, for I may not disguise the fact that Nashville and Memphis will not scruple to raise large sums of money to bribe the registering officers. But a short time since I was visited by a Tennessee officer in an Arkansas rebel regiment, who told me that the rebels had no right to complain of the Franchise bill; that he submitted cheerfully, and it was within his personal knowledge that, if the Confederates achieved their independence, it was their purpose to disfranchise every Union man in the South. It is idle to talk about the act disfranchising rebels being a radical measure, inaugurated by Sumner and Stevens, at Washington. It is the time-honored doctrine and practice of the fathers of the Revolution, who, at the close of that eventful struggle, disfranchised the Tories of that day, who are parallel to the rebels of our day. (Loud cheering.) My recollection of the history of those times is that both sides had bills disfranchising Tories. The same was done, if I mistake not, by the Legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina and even South Carolina. Upon this platform, however, for the first time since the rebellion was begun, we have all got together—Radicals, Conservatives, Copperheads, weak-kneed Union men and rebels. We Radicals are all for the Franchise law; the other classes named are all for Johnson. It is not to be presumed that any would be for Johnson who are not for his doctrines, and we know that he inaugurated the doctrines in Tennessee of disfranchising rebels. Among his last utterances before he left here, some thirteen months ago, he declared that, if there were but five thousand loyal men in Tennessee, they should control the State; and all the time that this measure has been pending, he has been represented, by those who have had frequent interviews with him, as wanting the Legislature to hurry up the Franchise law. We are, therefore upon his platform, and hope to present not only five thousand, but ten times five thousand, loyal Union men to govern the State. Let us, then, one and all, keep our stand upon the President's platform of governing the State with loyal men, making treason odious and punishing traitors. Upon this platform I took my stand long since, and here I still stand, and upon this I intend to fight it out, not only all Summer, but if it takes up the remainder of my natural life. In this I am encouraged, knowing that all good and true men at home stand by me, and all good and true men abroad, including the most talented, patriotic and loyal Congress which ever assembled in Washington. (Loud cheers.) One word to the large numbers of the members of the Legislature who surround me, and I am done. Your action, in the loyal States, is looked to with as deep an interest as the actions of Congress. You have acted a noble part in expelling from your body the bolters, disorganizers and rebels. Follow up the good work you have commenced, by the passage of all necessary measures, and you will have the approval of your constituents, of all good men abroad, and of your own conscience.

The Governor then retired amid loud cheering. Speeches were made by various others present, and the meeting did not break up until midnight.

THE HOUR'S NEED.

ABOLITIONISTS, with others, thought, a year ago, that the country was "Abolitionized."

Authority the highest declared that the Anti-Slavery cause numbered its converts by millions. The Great Babylon had verily fallen! Nevermore would the voice of the pit dictate our counsels of State; nevermore would the plantation whip insult Northern *men*, or cow Northern *dogs!*

Such was the bright horoscope held out to us *then*. Where stand we *now?* "Three votes," we are told—"between us and the rehabilitation of slavery; three votes between us and disgrace; three votes between us and bankruptcy." And where find we these savior votes,—in what unflinching council of justice do they go forth to battle for right—for the national life? In the Senate of these United States, which puts forth its right hand to keep eleven rebellious aristocracies at bay, while with its left it opens the door of welcome to an embryo statelet conceived in the very sin that renders the eleven unacceptable—in this same Senate but a majority of three stands between the nation and doom.

And how long will they stand—the three lonely sentinels on the watch-tower of Liberty? How long will they brave the desolation of the "outer darkness," while hospitable fires of political influence, soft beds of Presidential favor, and alluring flesh-pots of public patronage, beckon within?

Already has the amendment to the Post-Office bill, curbing the Executive power of appointment from *abuse to use*, been reconsidered, by a vote of 21 to 18, in that Senate. *Three, majority for Andrew Johnson*, the present head of the rebellion, which "is not dead, but sleepeth!"

With such a record in "these latter days," of the assembled political wisdom of the nation, and with the cry in every Republican's mouth: "*The party must live, though the Freedman die,*" with no popular opinion upholding the faithful few in Congress and denouncing the faithless many—with such inanity among the "millions" promised us a year ago, whither do we drift?

To destruction, certainly, unless an outpouring of pentecostal fire visit our political circles, unless conscience awake in the people, and sting them on to duty.

And who shall awaken this conscience, who shall invoke that outpouring—but those who for a generation have stood on Zion's hill, through good report and (mostly) evil report, and who yet call out to the nation: "Haste, ere it be too late." The Abolitionists must now, as of old, put shoulder to wheel and push on with all the might God has given them—if the country is to be saved. G.

LETTER FROM SOJOURNER TRUTH.

CAMPBELL HOSPITAL, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 2, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IT has been my intention to be present at the anniversary next week to see all my old friends, but I am confined to my room quite ill.

I want my friends to understand that I appreciate fully what they have done for me and my people, and I had hoped to be able to tell them next week myself, but as I cannot, please say to them, through your valuable paper, what you know I feel. I feel so grateful that it seems to me that I must call a convention of my friends to meet me here in my sick room, that I may thank them for all their deeds of mercy, charity and love to the poor slaves and all of my people who were and are in distress.

I can't speak very loud, but you could use ear trumpets, and as for seats, one could sit on the wood-box, some on the table, some on the bed and the rest could stand.

But if I cannot speak to you all and thank you, I can pray to God to bless and prosper you in all your ways and in all your efforts to do good.

As soon as I am able, I expect to go to Rochester and New York, when I shall hope to see you. Let the paper continue to come and I will see that it is paid for.

With high esteem, I remain, yours cordially,

SOJOURNER TRU

THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held on the 8th inst. in the Church of the Puritans, New York, and called to order at half past 10 o'clock, a. m. by its President, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., of Boston.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. HEPWORTH, of Boston.

The PRESIDENT read the following letters, selected from those received from gentlemen invited to be present and to take part in the exercises of the Society:

SENATE CHAMBER, 1st May, 1866.

DEAR SIR: It will not be in my power to take any part at the approaching anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society. My duty will keep me here.

I trust that the Society, which has done so much for human rights, will persevere until these rights are established throughout the country on the impregnable foundation of the Declaration of Independence. This is not the time for any relaxation of the old energies. Slavery is abolished only in name. The slave oligarchy still lives, and insists upon ruling its former victims.

Believing, as I do, that the National government owes protection to the Freedmen, so that they shall not suffer in their rights, I insist that it has plenary power over this great question, and that it may do anything needful to assure these rights. In this conviction I shall not hesitate at all times to invoke its intervention, whether to establish what are called *civil rights* or that pivotal right of all, the right to take part in the government which they support by taxation and by arms.

Accept my best wishes, and believe me, dear sir,

Faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1866.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Esq., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: I cannot tell you how gladly I would accept your invitation to attend the thirty-third annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the 8th prox. I have seen sorely tempted to do it, but have at length made up my mind that I ought not to leave my post at this time, even for such an occasion.

You will doubtless receive from others all the suggestions I might be able to offer, yet there are some practical views I would gladly enforce. I would urge you to reorganize the platform, and your early system of pamphleteering, and give them, if possible, greater efficiency than ever. Every school district in the country should be canvassed in the cause of justice and equality. The prejudice of the North is the great stumbling-block in the way of the better and more liberal men of the South. Such an one writing to me from Wilmington, N. C., on the 17th inst., says, "Are you determined to force negro equality upon us, when *you do not recognize it at home?*" Do not adjourn without resolving to endeavor to remove this obstruction to the restoration of order, peace, and prosperity, by securing equal rights to every citizen of the Northern States. You can execute this resolve easily, and at little cost, by organizing local clubs for the distribution of the speeches, etc., published by the Congressional Executive Committee. In this work you will find a willing co-operator in the National Equal Suffrage Association, of which I have the honor to be President.

Our present position is not novel, nor is there anything in it to daunt our courage. We are slow to apprehend the teachings of Providence; but we cannot escape the discipline by which they are enforced. We did not doubt the rectitude or ultimate success of the Union cause when its armies were under the command of McClellan, and officered by Fitz John Porter and Buell. Why it was, we could not see, but we now know that if they had been true soldiers the North would have conquered by its own power, and we could not have vindicated the negro's manhood by pointing to Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend, and the many other fields his courage has made historical. Many thousands of men from whose eyes grateful tears have washed the film of prejudice, are anxious to secure the full enjoyment of political rights to every soldier of the republic.

Had Andrew Johnson so willed it, when BOOTH made him President, he could have established political equality throughout the South: but he had the control of no agency potent enough to eradicate the prejudices of the North. But as a political McClellan, with Seward for his Porter, and Raymond for his Buell, he will convince the true men both North and South that they need the political power of all the loyal men of the country, to save the results of the war, as they did their military power to achieve them. The Almighty can make the wrath of even Andrew Johnson praise him, and He will do it. But as we also are His agents, we may hasten the day. Let us therefore be instant in well-doing.

Thus much the men of the South, who see what "the situation" requires, whether they adhered to the Union, or like the Barringers of North Carolina, or Roddy, the Confederate General of Alabama, were against it, have a right to demand at our hands. How forcibly they demand it, let me show you by an extract from a letter of the 24th inst., from such an one in the Southern part of North Carolina, whose name I am not at liberty to give, lest it might subject him to the vengeance of his neighbors.

"The course of events has not surprised me much, though it grieved me exceedingly. I saw or thought I saw, that the best thing for the whole country—especially for the South—was entire harmony between the President and the party which elected him. That harmony has been broken, I fear, without hope of restoration. I cannot but think that the President has committed a great blunder, if not a great crime. I know verily that for *two or three* months after the surrender—until indeed his restoration policy was fully developed and considered here a fixed fact *nolens volens*—the Southern mind was more like a blank sheet of paper, than I have ever known it—more free from prejudice—more disposed to broad national views, and more susceptible to impressions favorable to the North and Northern men and Northern ideas. Upon that blank sheet of paper might have been written enduring characters of peace, union, and harmony, between every section of the Republic. But the time was lost. When it will return, God only knows. I give it as my deliberate conviction, that the prospect is darkening every day. Sectional pride, sectional hate, sectional ideas are as rampant here as they were before the war. Is it so at the North? I cannot believe it is so. But I am told that the determination is fixed to let no part of the fruits of the war pass away, till all be fulfilled. This is right. Nor do I believe that our people will come to their senses, until they realize this fact beyond cavil or dispute."

It is in our power to settle the fact in question "beyond cavil or dispute." The 39th Congress has taken its position, and will maintain it. It will not quail before Executive dictation, or be seduced by Executive patronage. The people are soon to elect its successor, and I adjure the American Anti-Slavery Society to see to it that they understand the issues upon which they are to pass.

Very truly yours, WM. D. KELLEY.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1866.

DEAR SIR: I cannot attend the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the 8th, except by sincere wishes for the complete accomplishment of its purpose to achieve the deliverance of our country from the spirit, as well as the fact of slavery.

Among the most urgent duties of the hour, I count that of pressing upon the intelligence and the conscience of our countrymen the expediency, as well as the obligation, of unqualified recognition of the manhood of man.

The nation has liberated four millions of the people from slavery, and has made them citizens of the Republic.

That all freemen are entitled to suffrage, on equal terms, is an axiom of free government. Neither color nor race can be allowed, without injustice and damage, as grounds of exception.

If, in the first movement toward national reconstruction, this truth had been distinctly recognized by an invitation to the whole loyal people of every State in rebellion to take part in the work of State reorganization, can it now be doubted that the practical relations of every State with the Union would have been already re-established, and with the happiest consequences?

Nothing is more profitable than justice. Does not suffrage promote security, content, self-respect, betterment of condition? With suffrage will there not be more and more productive labor than without? Will not suffrage ensure order, education, respect for law, activity in business, and substantial progress.

I have heard the difference between the production of the lately insurgent States with universal suffrage, and the production of the same States without it, estimated at one hundred millions of dollars a year. At this rate, the injustice of the denial of suffrage will cost those States, will cost the nation, five hundred millions of dollars in five years—enough to pay nearly one-fifth of the national debt.

Is it too much to expect that sensible and patriotic men, in those States, will, before long, see their true interest in their plain duty, and join hands with those who seek, not their injury or their humiliation, but their welfare and their honor, in equal rights for all?

However these things may be, this, at least, seems clear. The men who so long contended for justice to the enslaved, and now contend for justice to the emancipated, will not, cannot, must not cease their efforts till justice prevails.

Yours truly, S. P. CHASE.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq.

NORTHAMPTON, Mass., May 7, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: It would have given me great pleasure to be present at the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and had it been possible I should have done so. I share with yourself in the faith that its great mission to humanity is not yet fulfilled. Slavery is only abolished in name; nor is the Republic safe from the monster which has clutched at its life and means but to destroy it. It behooves every friend of truth and justice to keep his armor bright, nor leave the field until the word *color* is blotted out from all our laws and constitutions, and *man*, in its most general sense, is written in its place so plainly as never to be mistaken.

Whoever stands for universal freedom is the nation's friend; whoever opposes, is its enemy, no matter how he masks that opposition, or calls it compromise. The saved republic must stand upon the Declaration of Independence. The lessons of the past are warning voices, telling us to beware of all compromises of right and justice. Fresh from the terrible experiences of the last five years, with all the wisdom we have gained, we should not dare now to fail to recognize the equality and brotherhood of all humanity.

Cordially sympathizing with all the objects of the Society, with great respect, RUFUS SAXTON.

To the President and Members of the Anti-Slavery Convention in New York assembled:

FRIENDS: Forbidden, as usual, by the requirement of duties, I may not omit to be present with you in your annual convocation, I cannot deny myself the privilege of sending you my word of greeting. The hour is grave, the responsibilities very high, and I trust your wisdom and faithfulness may be equal to the call.

It is plain that a more radical work must be done for our nation than has been sought or achieved by the war, great popular uprisings for Union, or prophecies of smooth things by teachers, anti-slavery or other, in the ears of the people. The old sins of the past remain essentially unrepented of, the exposures and dangers unremoved. The nation has never yet risen to royal and commanding ground, has never planted itself manfully and broadly on *principle*, has never so consecrated itself to fit and universal ends as to deserve blessing and success. It has remained selfish, narrow and atheistic, even in the stress and agony of the struggle through which it has passed. The declaration of Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley, years ago, affirming his sole purpose and labor to be maintenance of the Union, holding the claims of the slave subordinate utterly to that, —justice, Heaven, all things beside, secondary and relative to the one purpose of nationality, is typical, represents and describes the attitude of this nation all along, to the war, through the war, and until now. It is a heartless, and so held a wicked purpose, branding us as guilty of treason against Heaven, and worthy in all ways of its condemnation and frown.

The sin of Baltimore is visited upon us to our sorrow and indignation in Andrew Johnson, and yet Andrew hardly attempts more than to carry out and consummate that atheistic purpose, to maintain the nationality and cement together again the bond of fellowship with the relentless thieves who have lately plunged our country in blood and unutterable woe. On such grounds, for the purpose of nationality the Jewish multitudes once crucified their countryman, Jesus,—the most royal name that has illustrated history, and the worship of this idol can hardly, in any age, lift individual or people to high virtue, but leaves broad open the way to temptation and easy infidelity. To the shame of our former record is now added the meanness of base ingratitude, desertion of benefactors, forcing the black man into our armies to fight and recover for us our Union; then denying him full privileges and protection with ourselves, and handing him ever to be devoured by his old and now thrice-embittered enemies. Declaring his liberty by law, we have forborne to make that declaration a fact, leaving it in large part a mockery and insulting lie. For all this, His anger is not turned away and His arm is stretched out still.

The work of Abolitionists remains substantially unchanged, the same as of old. It is, to call a guilty and adulterous nation to repentance. It is, to probe to the true issue, to declare the sole and genuine loyalty, to explore at the roots the nation's wickedness and the source of its calamities. It is, to recall it to the worship of God, to the recognition of justice, of righteousness and humanity, as more than welfare or life, more than the existence of party, or the saving of the nation, as the solemn aim and fit end alone for which States, Union, government, have for any moment a right to be. It is, to adjure it to cast aside henceforth all false wisdom of partial or selfish aims, all counsels of policy or compromise, to build anew at the foundation, to reconstruct from the beginning,—the old dissolved—and all things made new,—baptizing its very being in humanity, blending its cause with perfect justice, seeking no success but through duty, no power or its own life even, but by dedicating itself to the rights and service of human nature. Bear this testimony, friends, preach this evangel of redemption, and you shall be like the word of God's mouth to admonish, rebuke, recover and save.

Sincerely yours, CHAS. D. B. MILLS.

Syracuse, May 7, 1866.

The PRESIDENT, on behalf of the Executive Committee, presented to the Society for its consideration the following resolutions:

Resolved, That considering what the nation owes the negro, what it has promised him, and remembering the lesson of the war, it is evident there is no course for us to tread, either safe, just, or honorable, except to guarantee to him at once every political right enjoyed by every citizen, in the same circumstances. Every other path is alike deathly and infamous.

Resolved, That the present condition of the negro is one of nominal freedom, but of suffering almost equal with that he endured under the yoke, of entire dependence on the white race for every privilege, and the recognition of every right—that no more enactment of Congress can alter this, unless it makes him in every respect the absolute equal of the white man before the law.

Resolved, That the Southern States may see the history and future of the policy they are initiating, in the glass of Jamaica, and find that every attempt to cheat the emancipated negro out of substantial freedom, incurs bankruptcy, wrecks property, and ends in blood.

Resolved, That the rebellion has not ceased, it has only changed its weapons: Once it fought, now it intrigues; once it followed Lee in arms, now it follows President Johnson in guile and chicanery; once it had its headquarters in Richmond, now it encamps in the White House.

Resolved, That the President has betrayed the loyal North; is bent on giving it over, bound hand and foot, into the hands of its once conquered foe; that he should long ago have been impeached for gross usurpation in his manifest use of his high powers to aid Rebellion, and for the treasonable purpose of defeating the secure and peaceful settlement of the Nation.

Resolved, That we demand of Congress, as clearly within its constitutional authority, to secure by appropriate legislation, his political rights, especially the right of suffrage, to every citizen of the United States; to assert as a principle of national law definitely settled by the defeat of the rebellion in the field, that no State in *Republican* in a constitutional and national sense which makes any distinction in civil or political rights among its citizens on account of race or descent; and thirdly, to call on the loyal citizens of each of the lately rebellious States to assemble, by delegates, in Convention in such State, and form for it a State Constitution and take measures to regain its place in Congress, by choice of Senators and Representatives; but that the basis of final settlement should be universal amnesty and universal suffrage.

Resolved, That once a compromise of great principles for immediate ends might have had some plausible defense; but to-day, and in this crisis, whoever proposes to settle any national issue on any basis but that of absolute justice mistakes his time, has failed to learn the lesson of the war, postpones justice, weakens liberty, jeopards nationality, and is a worse traitor—because a more dangerous one—than any armed rebel has been for the last four years. Better defeat on a true basis than success on a compromise of rights. Better that the rebels should take possession of the government in 1868, than thwart the course of events and surrender the fruits of victory by agreeing to any compromise which accepts peace on terms unjust to any race, interest, or section.

Resolved, That when Representatives and Senators forgot the last four years and imitated the truckling politicians of our disgraceful eras, by admitting the white aristocracy of Colorado as a Republican State into this Union —they stultified themselves, betrayed the North, and gave the Traitor of the White House and the rebels of the South an unanswerable argument against all their hollow zeal for justice and freedom.

Resolved, That we recognize with unfeigned admiration and gratitude, the devoted, most efficient, and inexpressibly important labors of that army of good men and women who, under the auspices of the freedmen's organizations, have given themselves to the protection, education, elevation of the recently emancipated negroes.

MARYLAND AND THE FREEDMEN.—A Baltimore correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* says:

Education of the negroes is progressing in this State, and so is the burning of negro churches and schoolhouses. Gov. Swann does not protect the lowly blacks from white outrages, notwithstanding his boast that he would do so, when he urged the President to veto the Freedman's Bureau bill. White incendiaries have burned down twelve negro churches and school-houses in all. But the Baltimore society, with Sterling, Bond, Daniel, Graham, and other humanitarians in the management, are pressing forward in the work of educating the blacks, and qualifying colored teachers in its Normal school. They are spending over $4,000 a month, which is mainly the contribution of Northern fanaticism in the cause of education. We have forty-three negro schools now in operation under this society. The public school system is doing nothing whatever for the education of the blacks. Dr. Van Bokelin, the Superintendent, is eager for its extension to the negroes and whites alike, but his associates in the Board of Education will not consent. There are but four churches in Baltimore which will take up collections in aid of negro education—the Unitarian, the Congregational, the United Presbyterian, and the Lutheran. The Unitarians, under the preaching of Mr. Ware, have done nobly. They are rich,

CONGRESS.

TUESDAY, MAY 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Sumner, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported the House joint resolution relative to the attempted assassination of the Emperor of Russia, with an additional section as an amendment requesting the President to forward a copy of the resolution to the Emperor of Russia.

Mr. Sumner said he did not believe the attempted assassination of the Russian Emperor was the result so much of what he had done for emancipation as of the thoroughness with which he had followed it to its logical conclusions in conferring civil and political rights upon the emancipated people.

Mr. Saulsbury moved to strike out of the resolution the words "by an enemy of emancipation." He would simply remark that there was no such information before the Senate. There was not a particle of evidence that the attempted assassin was an enemy of emancipation. If it was true, the fact could be ascertained by inquiry from the Russian Minister. The statement he (Mr. Saulsbury) had seen was that the attempt was made by a man in humble life, who did not own any serfs. He had learned, also, that he was a monomaniac. He did not know anything about it, but he thought the Senate, before asserting such a thing, ought to get information on the subject.

The amendment of Mr. Saulsbury was not agreed to.

The resolution as amended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs was passed.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—The House proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being the joint resolution reported by the Reconstruction Committee, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The debate was opened by Mr. Stevens (Penn.) in support of the joint resolution. Mr. Stevens said that the proposition before the House fell far short of his wishes; but he believed that it was all that could be obtained in the present state of public opinion. Not only Congress but the several States were to be consulted. On a careful survey of the whole ground, the Committee did not believe that 19 of the loyal States could be induced to ratify any proposition more stringent than this. He repeated "19 States," for he utterly repudiated and scorned the idea that any State not actually in the Union was to be counted on the question of ratification. It was absurd to suppose that any more than three-fourths of the States which proposed the amendment were required to make it valid. Believing then that this was the best proposition that could be made effectual, he (Stevens) accepted it. Referring to the other Constitutional amendment passed in the House this session, and which waited in the Senate, he said it was slaughtered by "a puerile and pedantic criticism," by a perversion of "philological definition." Its death, produced by self-righteous Republicans and unrighteous Copperheads, had postponed, perhaps for ages, the salvation of the colored race. But it would not do for those who had for 30 years "fought the beasts at Ephesus," to be frightened at the fangs of modern catamounts. Heaven forbid that the Southern States or any of them shall be represented in Congress until full monuments of freedom are built—full, high and firm. Against the will of Congress the Southern States had been absent for four bloody years. Against the will of Congress they must not come back until Congress is ready to receive them. He believed that this Congress would not approach the full measure of justice until every full-grown man in the late rebel States was provided with a homestead on the land where he had been held as a slave. Forty acres of land and a hut would be of more value to him than the right to vote. Unless Congress gave them that measure of justice, it should receive the censure of mankind and the curse of Heaven. In conclusion, Mr. Stevens, in order to have control of the bill, entered a motion to recommit it.

Mr. Blaine (Me.) called the attention of Mr. Stevens and of the House to an objection to the third section of the amendment, which he deemed serious, if not fatal. That section provided that until the 4th of July, 1870, all persons who voluntarily adhered to the late insurrection, giving it aid and comfort, shall be excluded from the right to vote for Representatives in Congress and for electors for President and Vice-President of the United States. It appeared to him that that was a violation of good faith in reference to that large class of people in the South who came within the terms of the Amnesty Proclamation of President Johnson, and who were thereby restored to all their civil rights. He asked Mr. Stevens for an explanation on that point.

Mr. Stevens admitted that the pardon extinguished the crime—after pardon there was no such crime in the individual. *Those who are fully pardoned did not come within the operation of the third section.*

Mr. Blaine understood, then, the gentleman from Pennsylvania to say that those who came within the terms of the Proclamation of Amnesty, would not be considered as having voluntarily adhered to the late insurrection.

Mr. Stevens assimilated their condition to that of a person convicted of felony, and thereby rendered incompetent to testify; but who, if pardoned, and if his testimony were challenged, could thereby produce his pardon and thereby show his competency.

Mr. Blaine suggested that if that was the proper construction to be given the section it should be so amended as that there could be no question about its construction, and he should at the proper time move an amendment to that effect.

Mr. Finck (Ohio) spoke in opposition to the measure. He was opposed to making any amendment to the Constitution. He denied the authority of any members of States to combine together to exclude other States from their constitutional representation, and to say to the States so excluded that they shall only exercise the right to representation on certain terms and conditions. The whole scheme was revolutionary, and a most shallow pretense for excluding the votes of the eleven Southern States in the next Presidential election. He hoped the people of those States would rally around the wise and just policy of Andrew Johnson. This measure was dangerous to the safety of the Union. It would protract an unfortunate contest without promising any beneficial result to the harmony of the country.

Mr. Garfield (Ohio) stated that he was pleased with almost everything in the proposed amendment. He regretted that the situation of the country had not been found such as to justify the presentation of the plain, unanswerable proposition that every adult sane citizen of the United States unconvicted of crime, should have the right of suffrage put into his hands—for he believed that the right to vote, if not one of the natural rights of all men, was necessary for the protection of those natural rights. He believed in the golden sentence of John Stuart Mill that "the ballot is put into the hands of men not so much to enable them to govern others as to protect themselves from mis-government." He regarded suffrage as the shield, the sword, the spear and the whole panoply that best befits a man for his own defense in the great social organization to which he belongs. He was in favor of the first, second and fourth sections of the proposed amendment, but was not so fully satisfied with the third section, which the gentleman from Maine (Blaine) had shown to be at least susceptible of misconstruction.

Mr. Stevens explained that whereas pardon wiped out the crime and its punishment, there was a difference between punishment for a crime and the withholding of a privilege. Pardon conferred no other advantage than relief from punishment.

Mr. Garfield, without going into that point, expressed his opinion that the third section was the only proposition in the amendment not bottomed clearly and plainly upon principle. If those who had participated in rebellion were unfit to be allowed to vote on the 1st of January, 1870, would they be fit to vote in the July following? There was no sufficient reason for that; and it would be said everywhere that it was purely a piece of political management in reference to the Presidential election. There were also practical objections to it. If nine-tenths of the people were to be disfranchised for four years, how was that to be carried out, only by having the military forces of the United States at every poll in eleven States in the Union? He did not think it, therefore, wise or prudent, both for practical reasons and for the reason of construction, as suggested by Mr. Blaine, that the third section should stand as a part of the amendment, and he should move to amend by striking out the third section.

The Speaker stated that pending the motion to recommit, no amendment could be offered.

Mr. Garfield would then move to amend the motion to recommit by adding to it instructions to strike out the third section.

Mr. Raymond inquired whether the House could not have a separate vote on each of the sections.

The Speaker replied in the negative. Sometimes, he said, the House considered bills section by section for amendment, but when it did not do so, then a bill or joint resolution must be voted on as a whole. This joint resolution was voted on as a whole, and must be acted on as a whole by the House, by the Senate, and by the people. The motion to recommit being pending, amendments could not be offered to the joint resolution. Instructions might be moved as amendments to the motion to recommit, but would fall if that motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Garfield—How then can an amendment be offered to the joint resolution?

The Speaker—Only by voting down the previous question when moved.

Mr. Garfield, resuming his argument, said that if all who participated in the rebellion were forever excluded by the amendment from the right of the elective franchise in all cases relating to National and State offices, he would say that the proposition was just, and one on which Congress could stand. He regarded anything as just which would exclude from political privileges and powers all the infamous men who participated in the rebellion. The proposition would meet his approval as one eminently just.

Mr. Dawes (Mass.) suggested some practical difficulties in the way of such a proposition.

Mr. Garfield explained that he did not say that he was in favor of complete disfranchisement, but that it was more just than a temporary disfranchisement. He commented upon his colleague's (Finck's) appeal to the people of the South to rally against the Union party.

Mr. Finck corrected his colleague. He had only called the people of the South to rally around the policy of Andrew Johnson.

Mr. Garfield would leave the House to judge how much difference there was between the two things. He (Garfield) called upon the people of the North to stand together with all their manhood, and to resist the revolutionary schemes of the people of the South, and their coadjutors in Congress and in the North.

Mr. Finck declared that there was but one disunion party in the country, and his colleague (Garfield) belonged to it.

Mr. Thayer (Pa.) next addressed the house. With one exception, he was prepared, after due deliberation, to give his most cordial assent and approval to the proposed amendment. That exception was the third section. He agreed in the sentiment enunciated by the gentleman from Ohio (Garfield), and did not believe it would be either expedient or proper to retain that section. He was opposed to the third section because he was in favor of the preamble to one of the bills reported by the Committee on Reconstruction, declaring it expedient that the States lately in insurrection should, at the earliest day consistent with the future peace and safety of the Union, be restored to full participation in all political rights. He was opposed to it because it looked like offering peace and restoration with one hand, while they were snatched away with the other. He was opposed to it because he thought it would keep the country in a state of constant turmoil, if it did not rekindle afresh the fires of civil war. He thought that section imperiled the whole measure; for he did not believe the people of the loyal States would subscribe either to its justice or expediency.

Mr. Niblack said he would, when he should have the opportunity, move to amend the fifth section by adding to it the following proviso:

Provided, That nothing contained in this article shall be so construed as to authorize Congress to regulate or control the elective franchise within any State, or to abridge or restrict the power of any State to regulate and control the same within its own jurisdiction, except as in the third section hereof prescribed.

Mr. Boyer spoke in opposition to the joint resolution. He admitted that those who had committed treason were amenable to the laws; but new laws and a new Constitution should not be made to meet their case. Treason was undoubtedly a crime that should be punished, but by no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law, such as was proposed in the amendment.

Mr. Kelley (Pa.) took the floor in defense of the joint resolution, although, he said, if he had the reporting of it, he would have reported a measure giving the right of the elective franchise to every loyal adult male in the country. He was opposed to striking out the third section. To do so would be to emasculate the amendment. In reply to some remarks of his colleague (Boyer), he (Kelley) would read a letter from the pen of one who had been as faithful to the Rebel Confederacy as his colleague, and had made greater sacrifices for it.

Mr. Boyer asked whether he understood his colleague to say that he (Boyer) had been faithful to the rebellion?

Mr. Kelley replied that he did say that the Democratic party of the North had fought for the rebellion, where there was no particular danger, as zealously as the Democratic party of the South had fought on the fields of danger.

Mr. Boyer—And I say now that my colleague fights for disunion as zealously as our armed traitors at the South fought for it during the rebellion. (Laughter.)

Mr. Kelley replied that opinions differed, that was all.

Mr. Boyer asked his colleague what sort of a government he would call that in which nine-tenths of the adult male population were not allowed to vote.

Mr. Kelley replied, if nine-tenths of the population had committed felony, they would be deprived of the right to vote; and the armed war of treason involved all crimes.

Mr. Boyer inquired whether, after the people of the South had returned to their allegiance, they should still be excluded from the ballot-box?

Mr. Kelley replied that if Probst, who had murdered eight members of one family in Philadelphia, were to repent ever so much, he would still say enforce the law against him; and if it was found that his mental and moral nature was so low that he ought not to be executed, then he should say, keep him in the penitentiary for the rest of his life; never turn him loose on society. Probst only killed eight, while some of those rebels had killed their hundreds, and all of them had struck at the life of the nation. This bill did not propose to punish them—on the contrary, it proposed after four years of good conduct to reinvest them with all the civil and political rights which they did not now possess. That was the whole of this bill.

Mr. Smith inquired whether Mr. Kelley was in favor of disfranchising all the colored men who went into the rebellion?

Mr. Kelley replied that he was in favor of disfranchising every traitor in the land, whether white or black; but he did not believe the gentleman could find a black voluntary traitor.

Mr. Smith said he had seen many colored men, prisoners of war, taken with arms in their hands, who admitted they had joined the rebels voluntarily.

Mr. Kelley said he would require stronger evidence against colored men charged with treason, than he would against Lee or any other leader of the Confederate army.

FOREIGN.

PASSAGE OF THE ENGLISH REFORM BILL.

THE Reform bill passed the Commons by a majority of only five votes. The New York *Evening Post* says:

The present bill has encountered about as many perils as beset the Apostle Paul. Its "perils of wild beasts" were exhibited in the howling and other hideous noises kept up by the genuine tories in the debate. *Punch* lampooned it and caricatured its supporters. It was tossed where "two seas meet," by the union of the two great families of Derby and Westminster to defeat it, who never acted together before. It had "perils among false brethren," in the readiness to act against it evinced by a large number of members who were elected under explicit pledges, or who knew that their re-election depended on their appearing to favor its success.

The London *Patriot* asserts that Parliament "hates the Reform bill," and that "many of the so-called Liberal members would vote against it if they dared," because "it will make the constituencies impracticable, less easy to bribe, less easy to canvass and cajole." With regard to the immediate point of attack, insisting on settling the distribution of seats prior to the suffrage, which is the first move of the opposition, the same paper remarks:

"The real reason why the government did not bring in a Redistribution bill at first, is that sixty members for small boroughs let them know that they could not support any measure of Reform which contemplated disturbance of their position; and it has honestly been furthering a whole and complete reform, by bringing in a Franchise bill first."

THE RUSSIAN EMPEROR.

The STANDARD has already alluded to the attempt on the life of the Russian Emperor. The following from the Russian *Invalide* will be read with interest, particularly the last brief paragraph. The Emperor may yet find a Booth as well as President Lincoln:

"Yesterday, the 16th, while the Emperor was walking in the Summer garden, a crowd assembled at the gate to see His Majesty enter his carriage. Among those people, who were animated with feelings of devotion and love towards the monarch, whose name is never mentioned by any one except with expressions of respect and gratitude, there was a miscreant meditating an attempt upon the most valuable life in Russia. Thank Heaven, the criminal design was not realized, and the pages of Russian history remain unstained by a sanguinary deed of unprecedented atrocity. The chroniclers of our time have been spared the distressing duty of handing down to posterity the tale of a nefarious act hitherto unknown in the annals of the Russian people. The life of him whose rule at this moment is so indispensable to Russia has been providentially preserved. At the moment when the criminal design, long matured in the miscreant's head, was about to be carried out, Providence, taking pity upon Russia, made a simple peasant, Ossip Ivanovitch Kommissaroff, the instrument of its will. Ossip (Joseph) Kommissaroff, a young man of 25, was born in the village of Molvitino, province of Kostroma. The village belongs to Baron Küster, to whom Kommissaroff stands in the relation of a liberated annuity-paying serf. Having been lately allowed to go to St. Petersburg and work in a hatter's shop, he soon rose in his calling, became foreman, and married a peasant girl, by whom he has a little daughter, eight months old. He was still foreman at Mr. Sadoff's, the hatter, when fate changed his destiny, and in an instant altered his entire career. The 16th being his birthday, he went to say his prayers in the chapel near the house of Peter the Great. Coming to the river side, close to the Marble Palace, he perceived that the bridge was removed and the passage temporarily interrupted. Retracing his steps, he then made his way to the Summer Garden, at the gate of which a crowd was assembling round an Imperial equipage. Knowing the carriage to be the Emperor's and longing for the happiness of beholding His Majesty, he joined the crowd waiting for the monarch's arrival. Presently there was a stir and animation in the crowd, and he saw His Majesty in an overcoat. His Majesty approached the carriage, and was putting on his cloak, when a young man, who had been standing behind Kommissaroff, tried to push him aside. This individual had repeatedly attempted to penetrate through the surrounding crowd and get nearer the carriage; but Kommissaroff, wishing to see the Emperor, would not suffer him to squeeze through and plant himself before him. At the moment when the Emperor was putting on his cloak, the individual, pushing Kommissaroff forcibly aside, made his way to the front rank of the multitude. Kommissaroff followed him closely. Hardly had the assassin got near the Emperor, when drawing a pistol from underneath his overcoat, he levelled it at the Emperor. Kommissaroff, who had noticed the movement, instantly caught him by the arm, and diverting the pistol from its aim, caused it to discharge in the air. In another moment the assassin was arrested, and, Kommissaroff, a prey to a thousand anxieties, lost in the surging crowd. Thus was the valuable life of His Majesty the Emperor saved. His Imperial Majesty at once drove to the Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God of Kasan. There he alighted to thank his Maker, who, through the agency of so humble an instrument, had diverted the assassin's hand from his Royal person.

"On his return from the church His Majesty received the congratulations of the Empress and his entire family, and soon after repaired again to the Kasan Cathedral, accompanied by the Empress, his children, his brothers, and all his male and female relatives. While His Majesty was performing his devotions, the high dignitaries, the generals, and civil and military officers assembled in the Winter Palace. In the evening all the churches of the capital were crowded by the loyal and devout subjects of the Czar.

"Private intelligence has been received here that the would-be-assassin is a Russian nobleman, about 20 years of age, who, like so many others of his class, has been ruined in consequence of the emancipation of the peasantry."

YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA will hold their Fourteenth Yearly Meeting at LONGWOOD (near Hamorton), Chester Co., commencing on Fifth day (Thursday), the 7th of Sixth month (June), 1866, at 11 o'clock A.M., and continuing, probably, for three days.

The Progressive Friends, in their purposes and aims, are a religious, but not a sectarian association. They have no common theological creed, nor is any one, on account of his opinions, excluded from their fellowship. They hold that "oneness of spirit" in respect of the highest and holiest duties of life is compatible with the widest diversity of theological speculation; and therefore, while cherishing the utmost freedom of thought and speech, they meet for the promotion of one another's present and eternal welfare, and to labor together in the cause of truth and righteousness. Looking into their own hearts for an ever-present manifestation of the Divine will, they seek to apply the principles of Christianity to every human relation and institution, to testify against every form of injustice, and to contend earnestly for the rights of the poor and the oppressed.

To all those who feel attracted to such a religious society, we extend a cordial invitation to meet and co-operate with us.

OLIVER JOHNSON, } Clerks.
ANNIE M. GALVIN, }

BOOK NOTICES.

FROM Leonard Scott & Co. we have the *North British Review* for March, and *Blackwood* for April. The former discourses of the following subjects:

Palgrave's Central Arabia, A Jacobite Family, Austria, Faust: A Dramatic Poem, by Goethe, "Ecce Homo" and Modern Scepticism, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, The Ecclesiastical Commission, Reform and Political Parties.

The article on Reform and Political Parties is applicable, in some parts, as well to our own government as to Great Britain, as the following passage from it will show:

We think Reform desirable as a means, but it is also desirable as an end. It is a thing just and right in itself, independent of the beneficial legislation to which it may be expected to lead. Mr. Gladstone's celebrated declaration of the right of every man to vote was true as an abstract proposition. In practice, however, the governing power justly assumes the right of giving the franchise only to those who deserve it. But then no rule on this matter can be unchangeable. Surely as intelligence grows the franchise must be extended. Surely the comparative exclusion of the working classes from the suffrage is an anomaly utterly indefensible in a constitutional system; and not only is it an anomaly indefensible in principle, it is mischievous in its effects. Readers will ask no apology for our recalling to their recollection Mr. Mill's weighty language on this point:

"It is important that every one of the governed should have a voice in the government, because it can hardly be expected that those who have no voice will not be unjustly postponed to those who have. It is still more important as one of the means of national education. A person who is excluded from all participation in political business is not a citizen. He has not the feelings of a citizen. To take an active interest in politics is, in modern times, the first thing which elevates the mind to large interests and contemplations; the first step out of the narrow bounds of individual and family selfishness, the first opening in the contracted round of daily occupations. The person who in any free country takes no interest in politics, unless from having been taught that he ought not to do so, must be too ill-informed, too stupid, or too selfish, to be interested in them; and we may rely on it that he cares as little for anything else, which does not directly concern himself or his personal connections. Whoever is capable of feeling any common interest with his kind, or with his country, or with his city, is interested in politics; and to be interested in them, and not wish for a voice in them, is an impossibility. The possession and the exercise of political, and among others of electoral rights, is one of the chief instruments both of moral and intellectual training for the popular mind; and all governments must be regarded as extremely imperfect, until every one who is required to obey the laws, has a voice, or the prospect of a voice, in their enactment and administration."

Exclusion from the franchise, therefore, denies to the people all elevating and inspiriting influence; it deprives the government of an abundant source of stability and strength.

Blackwood continues its serials with an article entitled Demonology, at home and abroad, and one on the "Condition of the government."

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

THE American Missionary Society held its anniversary in the Cooper Institute on Tuesday forenoon. Among the speakers was Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard, the one-armed soldier, who commanded the Eleventh Corps in the Army of the Potomac, and at present Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, who addressed the audience in substance as follows: After giving a list of the obstacles cast in the way of the advancement of the freedmen by a certain class who were still dominant in the South, despite the four years of warfare, he said the schools had in many instances not only been discouraged, but positively closed, and no aid or protection furnished by the government, and some had been led to doubt whether the government intended to protect the colored people or not. In addition to the paucity of supplies for the freedmen, the reduction ordered by the government after the close of the war was followed by entire withdrawal. He denied the charge made that the colored people were lazy or indolent, by showing that the rebel planters, in connection with the northern capitalists, had used the labor of the freedmen in cultivating the fields, and in making a profitable return for their investments.

One kind of poverty at the South was that of planters, who, with abundance of land, had no means of cultivation, and were really in a distressed condition. They had yet to become indebted to the hated Yankees, either by parting with a part of their land or becoming indebted to them for means to carry on their lands.

When the rebel armies surrendered, a large part of the men organized in secret bands to harrass the freedmen, murder soldiers, break the windows of schoolhouses, etc. The general gave a description of the poor whites, a listless, stupid race. It was a relief to find a woman crying; she was an exception to the general listlessness. At the close of the war, and with the short harvests, the distress was general, and the necessity was urgent to relieve them. But it was a slander that the Bureau had confined its principal attentions to the freedmen. This class had always signified themselves willing to work, give them chance and pay.

The General gave a humorous description of the negroes on the Sea Islands. They were very like human beings all over the world. The planters had complained to him of the negro children, who were disobedient and mischievous. The Bureau would not let them whip them, and their parents would not. The General proposed to employ schoolmasters for that purpose, as had been the usage in New England, as he had personal remembrance. It had been done, and with success. The children were docile and not hard to control.

The men who abused, insulted, assaulted, and maligned the teachers of and preachers to the freed people were the whiskey-drinking, idle, unproductive vagabonds known as the "white trash," the coun

Miscellaneous Department.

THE SOUL'S PROPHECY.

ALL before us lies the way;
Give the past unto the wind;
All before us is the day,
Night and darkness are behind.

Eden with its angels bold,
Love and flowers and coolest sea,
Is less an ancient story told
Than a glowing prophecy.

In the spirit's perfect air,
In the passions tame and kind,
Innocence from selfish care,
The real Eden we shall find.

When the soul to sin hath died,
True and beautiful and sound,
Then all earth is sanctified,
Upsprings paradise around.

From the spirit-land afar
All disturbing force shall flee;
Stir, nor toil, nor hope shall mar
Its immortal unity.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

GLADSTONE, BULWER AND MILL.

Correspondence Boston Advertiser.

LONDON, April 14, 1866.

WE are in the midst of a parliamentary contest on which the eyes of the nation are fixed, and every movement excites throughout the country emotions of satisfaction or anger. The blood of the people is up, and they are mustering under their leaders for another great struggle with class ascendency and aristocratic privilege. I have a great liking for parliamentary debate, and go nightly to the House of Commons to watch the battle. Perhaps a few notes respecting the scenes of the last two evenings will not be uninteresting to American readers.

On Tuesday Mr. Gladstone recommenced the debate in a speech which was full of energy. He now openly says that he intentionally controlled himself when introducing the Reform bill and made dullness a study in order that he might conciliate the conservatives and procure for a measure, which he sincerely believes to be necessary to our permanent well being, as much support, without regard to party, as it is possible to obtain. But his overtures were rejected, his moderation misunderstood, and his position weakened. Accordingly he has thrown down the flag of truce and declared for war. Portions of his speech on Thursday recalled the most impassioned of our details of political strife, when the formalities, even the courtesies of current speech are dropped, and every weapon used that promises to be effective. I will give you a passage which will show how desperate the antagonism has become.

Lord Cranbourne, the oldest son of the Marquis of Salisbury, is a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly Review*. He was the author of an article which appeared in it some years ago, in which Mr. Disraeli (whom he hates) was made responsible for the disasters of the conservative party, and he has written in the *Review* almost uninterruptedly ever since. He is a tory of the most virulent order. The working man to him is a helot, a slave, almost a pariah; and next to the laborer, he abhors and fears the laborer's friend. For Mr. Gladstone he has a special abhorrence, and having an active intelect, and great power of sarcasm, he not unfrequently succeeds in irritating the Liberal chief. In the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, issued this week, is a paper on the Reform bill, extremely hostile to Mr. Gladstone and attributing to the government the worst motives which a mind fruitful in malicious aspersion can suggest. Referring to this article on Thursday, and pointing out one of the worst of its misstatements. Mr. Gladstone continued:

"When I read this statement I sought for a description of it, and I could find no other so applicable, with the exception of a single little monosyllable, which I wish naturally to omit, as the retort of Prince Henry upon Falstaff after the story of the men in buckram,—'These lies are like the father that begot them, gross as a mountain, open, palpable.' By lies of course I mean erroneous statements."

The House laughed very heartily at this as a voice exclaimed,—"Who is the father of them?" Mr. Gladstone went on,—"Who is the father of them it is not for me to say, nor of his dimensions is it for me to speak, but I only say if he be in size equivalent to his prototype, then the description is true, and they are like the father that begot 'them, gross as a mountain, open, palpable.'" A little further on, as if to prevent any mistake as to the direction of his thrust, he observed that one argument had specially been employed by the *Quarterly*, and "we have likewise heard it in the speech of a very distinguished member of this House, (Lord Cranbourne) from whom the *Quarterly* has probably been guilty of gross plagiarism." To see the meaning of all this, the reader should know the unwieldly figure, the gross and animal look of the heir to the marquisate of Salisbury. He should also be familiar with the demeanor of the noble lord in the House of Commons. I suppose no member in it has carried the art of giving offence by manner, by interruptions and gestures apart from speech, to a finer pitch of perfection. When Mr. Gladstone speaks Lord Cranbourne pushes himself forward on his seat; laughs conspicuously when there is any passage at which laughter jars and annoys, and by numerous ways in which his bulk and his features assist him, testifies his desire to aggravate and wound. Mr. Gladstone's mode of attack in this instance can only be repelled by similar wit and skilfulness of phrase, and these Lord Cranbourne does not possess. The satire of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether justifiable or not, is the kind of satire with which mere force of expression cannot contend. It is with this subtle talk that the journalists of France have evaded the strictest laws on the press; that the people of Rome constantly turn the Pope and his cardinals to ridicule, and the Berlinese keep up a conflict with their unpopular minister and their king.

It is to the proceedings of last evening, however, to which I desire more particularly to advert. Mr. Baxter, who rose to speak in a full House, is a warm admirer of America, and is therefore the friend of progress at home. He has a reputation in Parliament for good sense and honesty of conviction, and office has been repeatedly pressed upon him, though without success. He has just a dash of the Scotch accent, but his voice is so pleasant that this is scarcely observed. He is good tempered and at the same time is thoroughly in earnest, and his speech last night defending the government bill showed all these characteristics. The cheers which greeted him when he sat down from the ministerial benches were suddenly continued by the conservatives, and on looking to ascertain the cause, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton was seen on his feet. There was at once a commotion. The hon. baronet, novelist, dramatist, essayist, poet, is known to prepare speeches for these occasions with much elaboration, and usually they are studded with epigrams, witticisms and ornate sentences of perfect rhythm. So at once the chamber was crowded and attentive. Up stairs, the members who were sitting on the side from which the honorable baronet was to speak, trooped in long procession to the gallery opposite, that they might see his face and get a chance of catching what he said. Sir Edward has at Knebworth a portrait of himself, painted by Maclise, in which, with a distinct likeness, is represented a face of the highest form of masculine beauty; and yet a plainer man than he now is does not sit in the House of Commons. Was he ever the *fac simile* of the Knebworth painting? I am told that he was, but it has not been in my time. So long as I have known the author of "Pelham" he has been deaf, stiff in the joints, bent in the back, and Jewish in feature. Everything about him shows the departure of the youth, which he mourns so sincerely, save his hair, which is still without the least mixture of gray. It is light in color and plentiful in quantity, but whether this is due to art or nature it is not in my power to decide. Before he was created a baronet, Sir Edward was a radical in politics, but since his title and his accession to the family estates he has been a conservative. All his most intimate friends and acquaintances are of the liberal school, and every one who knows him smiles at the idea of his political sincerity. But there he is in Parliament opposing a reform bill which will enfranchise 400,000 of his fellow-countrymen, with more gusto than any old bigot of them all. Sir Edward is a singular instance of a man achieving oratorical success who has not a single quality of the orator. He wins by sheer intellectual display. His voice is loud, but it is so thick that unless you are in his immediate neighborhood you cannot follow him through a sentence. His speeches sound like a series of "aw-aws"—"Americaw and Russhaw are two great "*Pawers*," and so on; but those who are in the body of the house can distinguish the words, and as he is never dull, there is never a lack of applause. It was curious last night to see the conscious smile on his face as he got near his "point"; and then to note him step back from the table at which he was standing, in a theatrical way, and raise his hands to his hips. The tories were in ecstasies. That *mind* should shine amongst them; claim to be of them; exalt them and illumine them in its own light, and that their opponents should be put to work, was so unusual an occurrence that their delight was beyond all description. Several threw themselves backwards and forwards in their glee, to the danger of their neighbors. Heads and bodies shook with laughter and voices roared applause till stopped by an angry cough. Sir E. B. Lytton was humorous and pleasant, but as artificial in his treatment of the question as he is in his physical appurtenances. His is the merest summer lightning which no infant need fear. I will give you one of the best of its flashes:

"There is a story of a famous French preacher, who, delivering a sermon on the duty of wives, said 'I see a woman present who has been guilty of disobedience to her husband, and, in order to point her out to universal condemnation, I will fling this breviary at her head.' He lifted the book, and every female head present ducked and dived. (General laughter and cheering.) 'Alas!' said the preacher, 'the multitude of the offenders necessitates a general amnesty.' Now, I see a gentleman opposite who is guilty of detesting this bill, and yet intends to vote for it; and if, in order to point him out to universal condemnation, the courtesies of Parliament would permit me to fling this volume (holding one in his hand) at his head, so many heads opposite would duck and dive that nothing but a general amnesty could deal with such a multitude of offenders. (Cheers.)"

As Sir E. Lytton sat down, the tories applauded for some minutes, and the more, it seemed to me, from the fact that Mr. John Stuart Mill had risen. They appeared unwilling to let any one be heard for a few moments, and the thought of the contrast between the novelist and the philosopher and political economist was disagreeable. However, their enthusiasm was over at last, and then, I am glad to be able to say, they gave to Mr. Mill the undivided attention and respect which his illustrious character demands. The curiosity to hear him quite equalled that which the previous speaker had excited. Mr. Mill had now an opportunity of proving that the close thinker whose works are known wherever civilization exists, and are referred to as among the richest productions of the intellect of England, could hold his own as an orator,—could gratify party politicians and appease the hostility of country squires. That I heard him attempt it, I shall always regard as a piece of singular good fortune.

Since he entered Parliament Mr. Mill has spoken but twice, and then very briefly; but he has been constant in his attendance and unflagging in his attention to the debates. He has, as I happen to know, determined to take a part in parliamentary proceedings, and to enter thoroughly into the work of practical legislation, and he is learning the peculiarities which are necessary to success. He sits through the dullest speech, and he is always the most attentive of the listeners. Last night he made what is really his *debut* as a speaker, and he made it under circumstances exceedingly favorable to a fair consideration of his abilities, but none of his friends anticipated the remarkable effect which he produced. He is, in conversation, modest to timidity,—is almost womanly in his meekness and amiability, and hasty observers might infer that he was yielding and weak; but those who know him are aware that strength is his first characteristic. Last night his speech was keen, incisive and clear. His thoughts and his arguments were closely packed, and his style, like that of his works, was as crystal. He stood close to Mr. Bright, and was warmly cheered by that distinguished man. He kept his hands behind him the whole time, and practised none of the ordinary arts of the orator. His voice though not powerful is very musical, and is as distinct as a bell. He spoke in the character alike of the politician, the statesman, the philosopher and the philanthropist, and all appeared in his words. He applied himself with the most logical vigor to the subject immediately before him, going scarcely to the right or to the left. He opened up new opinions at every turn and his expression of them was exquisitely precise. The speech proceeding directly from his thought, he occasionally stopped in the course of it as if to rally, but when he resumed the thread of his reasoning he went on with delicious fluency. It was a great pleasure to be there, and particularly to observe how the House appreciated him, and by its anxious attention,—a full House remaining deeply interested till he had finished,—proved its respect for his intellectual gifts and for his sentiments. The *Daily News* contains a verbatim report of the speech, corrected, I believe, by Mr. Mill himself.

GOTFRIED KINKEL.

HOW CARL SCHURZ RESCUED HIM FROM AN AUSTRIAN PRISON.

THE illustrious German poet, philosopher and patriot, Gotfried Kinkel, has come to Paris for the purpose of delivering before his numerous countrymen, residing in the French capital, a series of artistic letters on the Galleries of Louvre. I remember very well the excitement created last May among the usually phlegmatic sons of Teutonia, by a visit of Kinkel during the German gymnastic festival, when he delivered before them an impromtu address, which was greatly praised at the time by the French liberal press. In the literature of Germany, Kinkel occupies a high position as a poet and a historian. When the Revolution of 1848 broke out, he was a Professor at the University of Bonn, and his strong democratic opinions induced him to take a prominent part in the struggle. He fought, was made prisoner by the royal authorities, was tried and sentenced to many years' imprisonment at hard labor.

Among Kinkel's companions at this time was a young student, not yet twenty years of age, named Carl Schurz, who was also captured, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Schurz, however, more fortunate than his Professor, succeeded in escaping across the French frontier, and was safe. Kinkel was sent to a common prison, placed among criminals of the vilest sort, and set to work making shoes. Young Germany, still trembling with the excitements of the recent Revolution, learned with indignation the treatment inflicted upon the eminent poet and scholar, and numerous petitions were sent to the Prussian government, praying that his situation might be ameliorated. To all this the authorities paid no attention whatever; the protestations ceased, and Kinkel seemed likely to be abandoned by his friends. There was one, however, who did not desert him. Carl Schurz left Paris, disguised himself in rags, and, defying the scaffold, re-entered Prussia, with an organ on his back. In the day-time, he begged his bread on the high road; at night he laid aside his organ, and visited the abodes of his former companions and the friends of German liberty, to endeavor to reawaken their interest in the fate of the imprisoned patriot. In this way he travelled three hundred leagues on foot, playing the organ through many towns and villages, carefully maturing his plans, and sleeping in barns or under hedges. On one occasion he was stopped by two Prussian gendarmes, who inquired where he was going.

"To the neighboring town," replied Schurz.

"Would you like to earn a handful of pfennings?" asked the others.

"Certainly."

"Very well; come with us to our barracks. We intend to give a dance this evening, and the airs of your organ will suit our purposes exactly."

It was impossible to decline the offer of the soldiers without exciting suspicions; so Schurz accepted with a great show of gratitude, and during the whole night ground out waltzes and quadrilles for a battalion of gendarmes. Leaving, undiscovered, the dangerous society of the military police, young Schurz continued his journey, and, a short time subsequently, information reached him that Kinkel's prison had been changed. He was now incarcerated in Spandau, and placed under the personal supervision of the prison director.

Late one night, when the streets had become deserted, a post chaise, escorted by a guard of four dragoons, drove rapidly through the town of Spandau, and halted before the prison. An officer, in the uniform of a Colonel of the Royal Guard, alighted from the vehicle, and was soon in the presence of the Director, into whose hands he placed a letter from the Minister of the Interior at Berlin, and bearing the official seal. Receiving the packet with the respect due to a communication from the King's Minister, the Director opened the important missive, and read as follows:

A deep-laid plot has been organized at Berlin, the object of which is to effect the forcible release of the convict Kinkel from the hands of the authorities. We are now watching the movements of the conspirators, and are preparing to arrest them. In order, however, to prevent the possibility of a surprise, the bearer of the present letter, Col. ——, is commanded to take charge of your prisoner, whom he will immediately conduct to the citadel at Magdebourg, and place him in the hands of the Governor of that fortress.

Upon reading the ministerial injunction, the director of the Spandau prison at once had the unfortunate Kinkel awakened, caused him to be securely ironed and placed in the post chaise, which set off on the road to Magdebourg, accompanied by the colonel and four dragoons, who rode with drawn sabres. All night long they travelled with rapid speed; fresh horses were instantly furnished at each relay, the colonel's command being accompanied by the magical expression, "the King's service."

The unhappy prisoner, crouched in a corner of the vehicle, cared not what might be his fate—Germany had forgotten him, and nothing could be worse than the noisome dungeon at Spandau. Morning came at last—a gray winter's dawn—and the carriage stopped. The colonel himself opened the door, and bade the prisoner alight. Without a word, poor Kinkel obeyed, and found himself standing on the sea-shore, a boat awaiting a few feet from where he stood, and a ship, with the English flag at her masthead, lying to within sight. The prisoner uttered a cry of mingled hope and despair.

"Do you not know me, my dear old master?" sobbed the pseudo colonel, tearing off his false moustache, and clasping Kinkel in his arms. "I am your friend and pupil, Carl Schurz. Let us embrace each other once more on German soil, and then away for England!"

Kinkel could not reply, but burst into tears. In a few moments more they were in the boat, and rowing lustily toward the vessel in the offing, which had now hoisted the German Republican flag, in token of recognition and welcome. As they reached the ship's side, Kinkel, pale and trembling, leaned upon Schurz' shoulder, and murmured:—"My wife, my children—where are they?"

He had time to say no more, for, in another moment, Mme. Kinkel was in her husband's arms, and his children were clinging about his knees.

"My mission is accomplished," said young Schurz. "I had sworn, dear master, to restore you to liberty and to your family. My duty is done."

Upon their arrival in London, the patriots were received with transports of enthusiasm. The rich German residents of the British metropolis took upon themselves to provide for the brave young fellows who, in the disguise of Prussian dragoons, had aided Schurz in successfully carrying out his noble project, and Prof. Kinkel himself commenced giving lectures on German literature, which met with immense success. Carl Schurz soon after parted from his old preceptor, and set out to seek his fortune in the promised land across the broad Atlantic.—His career in the United States is well known.—*Paris Cor. N. Y. Times.*

ARTEMAS WARD AT A FENIAN MEETING.

HIS SPEECH, AS REPORTED BY HIMSELF.

THE town hall was jam-full of peple, mostly Irish citizens, and the enthoosasm was immense. They cheer'd everybody and everything. They cheer'd me. "Hurroo for Ward! Hurroo!"

They was all good nabers of mine, and I answered in a pleasant voice, "All right, boys, all right. Mavoorneen, och hone, aroon, Cooshlamacree!" These Irish remarks bein' received with grate applaus, I added, "Mushler! Mushler!"

"Good! Good!" cried Cap Spingler, who desires the Irish vote for county clerk; "that's fus' rate."

"You see what I'm drivin' at, don't you, Cap?" I said.

"Certainly."

"Well," I answered, "I'm very glad you do, because I don't."

This made the Finians larf, and they, said walk up unto the speaker's platform, sir.

The speeches were red hot agin England and her iron heel, and it was resolved to free Ireland at onct. But it was much desirable before freein' her that a large quantity of funs should be raised. And, like gen'rous souls as they was, funs was lib'rally contribooted. Then arose an excitin' discussion as to which head center they should send 'em to—O'Mahony or McRoberts. There was grate excitement over this, but it was finally resolved to send half to one and half to t'other.

Then Mr. Finnigan rose and said we hav' here to-night sum citizens of American birth, from whom we should be glad to hear. It would fill our hearts with speechless joy to hear from a man whose name towers high in the zoological and wax figger world—from whose pearly lips——'

Says I, "Go slow, Finny, go slow."

"We wish to hear," continued Mr. Finnigan, moderatin' his stile summut, "from our townsman, Mr. Ward."

I beg'd to be declined, but it wan't no use. I rose amidst a perfeck uproar of applaus.

I said we had convened there in a meetin' as I understood it, or rather in a body as it were, in ref'rence to Ireland. If I know my own heart, every one of us there, both grate and small, had an impulse flowin' in his boosum, "and consequentially," I added, "we will stick to it similar and in accordance therewith, as long as a spark of manhood, or the peple at large. That's the kind of man I be!"

Squire Thaxter interrupted me. The squire feels the wrongs of Ireland deeply, on accounts of havin' onct courted a widder of a Irish gentleman who lingered in a loathsum dunjin in Dublin, placed there by a English tavern-keeper, who despotically wanted him to pay for a quantity of chops and beer he had consoom'd. Besides, the squire wants to be re-elected justice of the peace. "Mr. Ward," he said, "you've bin drinkin'. You're under the inflooence of licker, sir!"

Says I, "Squire, not a drop of good licker has passed my lips in 15 years."

(Cries of "Oh here now, that won't do.")

"It is troo," I said. "Not a drop of good licker has passed my lips in all that time. I don't let it pass 'em. I reach for it while it is goin' by!" says I. "Squire, harness me some more!"

"I beg pardon," said the squire, "for the remark; you are sober; but what on airth are you drivin' at?"

"Yes!" I said, "that's just it. That's what I've bin axin' myself durin' the entire evenin'. What is this grate meetin' drivin' at? What's all the grate Finian meetins drivin' at all over the country!"

"My Irish frens, you know me well enuff to know that I don't come here to disturb this meetin'. Nobody but a loafer will disturb any kind of a meetin'. And if you'll notiss it, them as are up to this sort of thing allers come to a bad end. There was a young man—I will not mention his name—who disturb'd my show in a certain town, two years ago, by makin' remarks disrespectful of my animals, accompanied by an allosan to the front part of my hed, which, as you see, it is bald—sayin', says this young man, 'You sand-paper it too much, but you've got a beautiful hed of hair in the back of your neck, old man.' This made a few ignent and low-minded persons larf; but what was the fate of that young man? In less than a month his aunt died and left him a farm in Oxford county, Maine! The human mind can picter no greater misfortin than this.

"No, my Irish frens, I am here as your nabor and fren. I know you are brave and warm-hearted. I know you are honest in this Finian matter.

"But let us look at them head centers. Let us look at them rip-roarin' orators in New Youk, who've bin tearin' round for up'ards a year, swearin' Ireland shall be free.

"There's two parties—O'McMahonys and McO'-Roberts. One thinks the best way is to go over to Canady and establish a Irish republic there, kindly permittin' the Canadians to pay the expenses of that sweet boon; and the other wants to sail direck for Dublin Bay, where young McRoy and his fair young bride went down and was drowning accordin' to a ballad I onct heard. But there's one pint on which both sides agree—that's the funs. They're willin', them chaps in New Youk, to receive all the funs you'll send 'em. You send a puss tonight to Mahony, and another puss to Roberts. Both will receive 'em. You bet. And with other pusses it will be sim'lar. I was into Mr. Delmonico's eatin'-house the other night, and I saw my fren Mr. Terrence McFadden, who is a elekent and enterprisin' deputy center. He was sittin' at a table, eatin' a canvas-back duck. Poultry of that kind, as you know, is rather high just now. I think about five dollars per poult. And a bottle of green seal stood before him.

"How are you, Mr. McFadden?" I said.

"Oh, Mr. Ward! I am miserable—miserable! The wrongs we Irishmen suffer! Oh, Ireland! Will a troo history of your sufferins ever be written? Must we forever be ground under by the iron heel of despotic Briton?—but, Mr. Ward, won't you eat suthin?"

"Well," I said, "if there's another canvas-back and a spare bottle of that green seal in the house, I wouldn't mind jinin' you in bein' ground under by Briton's iron heel."

"Green turtle soup, first?" he said.

"Well, yes. If I'm to share the wrongs of Ireland with you, I don't care if I do hav' a bowl of soup. Put a bean into it," I said to the waiter. "It will remind me of my childhood days, when we had 'em baked in conjunction with pork every Sunday mornin', and then all went up to the village church, and had a refreshin' nap in the fam'ly pew."

Mr. McFadden, who was sufferin' so thurly for Ireland, was of the Mahony wing. I've no doubt that some ekally patriotic member of the Roberts wing was sufferin' in the same way over to the Mason-Dory eatin'-house. They say, feller-citizens, soon you will see a Blow struck for Irish liberty! We hain't seen nothing but a blow, so far—it's bin all blow, and the blowers in New York won't git out of Bellusses as long as our Irish frens in the rooral districks send 'em money. Let the Green float above the red, if that'll make it feel any better, but don't you be the Green. Don't never go into anything till you know whereabouts you're goin' to.

This is a very good country here where you are. You Irish hav' enjoyed our boons, held your share of our offices, and you certinly hav' done your share of our votin.' Then why this hullabaloo about freein' Ireland? You do your frens in Ireland a grate injoory, too; because they b'lieve yoou're comin' sure enuff, and they fly off the handle and git into jail. My Irish frens, ponder these things a little. 'Zamine 'em closely, and above all find out where the pusses go to.

I sot down. Ther was no applaws, but they listened to me kindly. They know'd I was honest, however wrong I might be; and they know'd, too, that there was no people on arth whose generosity and gallantry I had a higher respeck for than the Irish, except when they fly off the handle. So, my feller-citizens, let me toot my horn.

REMINISCENCES OF LANDOR.

ONE of Landor's prominent characteristics was generosity, carried to the verge of rashness. Even in his last years, when living on a very limited income, he was only too ready to empty his pockets at the call of any charity, whether public or private. Impulse, however, prompted him to give most heartily when he thought to further the cause of liberty. At the time a subscription was opened in Florence to aid Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition, Landor, anxious to lay an offering at the feet of his heart's hero, pulled out his watch, the only article of value about him, and begged Mr. Browning to present it to the fund. Mr. Browning took it, but knowing how lost the old man would be without his time-piece, kept it for a few days; and then, seizing a favorable moment when Landor was missing his watch greatly, though without murmuring, Mr. Browning persuaded him to retain it. This he did, with reluctance, after being assured of the fund's prosperous condition. It was about the same time, I think, that Landor wrote an Italian Conversation between Savonarola and the Prior of San Marco, which he published in pamphlet form for the benefit of this or a similar cause. Most admirably did Landor write Italian, his wonderful knowledge of Latin undoubtedly giving him the key to the soft, wooing tongue. He, of course, spoke the language with equal correctness; but, as with most Englishmen who go to Italy after having arrived at mature years, his pronunciation was *proprio Inglese*.

Landor would never accept payment for his books, presenting the amount due him either to the publisher, or, more generally, to some friend who had been most active in aiding their publication. Few will applaud this idiosyncrasy, the general and sensible opinion being that the laborer is worthy of his hire: but Landor took peculiar pride in writing for fame alone, without thought of the more tangible product of genius; and, unlike most authors, he could well afford to indulge in this heroic taste. Three years ago—and for the first time in his life, he said—Landor accepted payment for a Conversation contributed to the London *Athenæum*. The money had no sooner been received, than he urged, though unsuccessfully, its acceptance upon a young American in whom he was interested, declaring that he had no possible use for it. On another occasion he proposed to give everything he might write to this same American, to dispose of for the latter's benefit, and appeared grieved when the offer was gratefully declined.

One day I was surprised by the appearance of Landor's little waiting-maid bearing an old Florentine box of carved wood, almost as large as herself, which she deposited on the table in obedience to her master's wishes. She departed without vouchsafing any explanation. Curiosity, however, was not long unsatisfied, for soon Giallo's white nose peered through the door and heralded the coming of the old lion, who had no sooner entered the room than he put into my hands a quaint old key, saying: "I have brought you something that one of these days, when these old bones of mine are packed away in the long box, may be of considerable value. I have brought you what we may call, in anticipation of a long-deferred but inevitable event, my literary remains. In that box you will find all my notes and memoranda, together with many unpublished verses. You can do what you like with them." Startled at this unexpected endowment, I looked very great hesitancy, whereupon Landor smiled, and begged me to unlock the box, as its opening would not be fraught with evil consequences. "It is not Pandora's casket, I assure you," he added. Turning the key and raising the lid, I discovered quite a large collection of manuscripts, of very great interest to me of course, but to which I had no right, nor was I the proper person with whom to leave them. To have argued would have been useless. Expostulation with Landor when in the white heat of a new idea was Quixotic, so I expressed my very grateful thanks, and determined to watch for a favorable opportunity to return the gift. I had not long to wait, as it was not more than a month after that Landor bore them off, with the intention of making certain selections for immediate publication in England and returning the remainder. Time had not dealt gently with Landor's memory of things nearest, therefore I knew that the old Florentine box would wait in vain for its jewels. I was right; they never came. The box since then has braved shipwreck, and now stands beneath a modern writing-table, dark and proud of its antiquity, telling perpetually of former noble associations. I felt relieved that it so happened the manuscripts were not again left with me, yet I should have been a saint had I not occasionally experienced a secret regret at not having been forced to retain them in spite of entreaty and propriety.

To express a liking for any of Landor's pictures—provided you were a friend—was almost sufficient to cause them to be taken down and presented to you; hence to praise anything in his presence was exceedingly unsafe. I remember looking over a large album once belonging to Barker, the English artist, which Landor had purchased to relieve him of certain debts, and particularly admiring four original sketches by Turner—two in oil and two in india-ink—that had been given by this artist to his brother-painter. No sooner had I spoken than Landor went in search of the scissors, and, had I not earnestly protested, would have cut out the Turners and given them to me. Such being Landor's disposition, one can well imagine how easily he could be imposed upon by designing people. There is an instance of this kindly feeling so prominent and so honorable both to himself and the object of it, that it is but right the public should read the contents of two letters belonging to and greatly treasured by me. They were put into my hands nearly four years ago by Landor to do with as I pleased after his death. The letters explain themselves.

8 SOUTH BANK, REGENT'S PARK,
London, March 14, 1856.

MY VENERABLE FRIEND: Though I very gratefully appreciate the generosity of your intentions, still I must confess that few things have ever affected me more painfully than to see from the *Times* of to-day my private circumstances—the sacred domain of life—thrust as an object of commiseration upon public discussion,—a miserable subject of public sneers.

My head turns giddy at the very thought, and my resignation is scarcely able to overcome the shame. I don't know how I shall muster sufficient resolution to appear in public hereafter; and I fear, with all your good intentions, you shall have become the involuntary instrument for driving me out of England before my time. I really scarcely can imagine what else I have to do unless you devise some means for healing the wound.

I am poor, very poor; but there was, I dare say, something honorable in that poverty, something sacred I would say. But seeing it made the object of a public appeal for commiseration, I feel as if everything that was sacred in my position had undergone a profanation.

I repeat that I respect and appreciate the nobility of your impulses, but I regret that such a step should have been taken without my having an idea of its possibility.

I will say no more, but leave it with your prudence and discretion to mitigate the blow your kindness has inflicted on me. And remain with wonted esteem, only mingled with grief, yours very truly, KOSSUTH.

To WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

Opposite the nervous yet legible scrawl of the noble and maligned Magyar, Landor traced the following answer:

It is impossible for me to rest until I have attempted to remove the vexation I have caused to the man I most venerate of any upon earth.

My noble Kossuth! "the sacred domain of your life" is far more extensive than your measurement. Neither your house nor your banker's are its confines. Do not imagine that the world is ignorant of your circumstances; it would be a crime to be indifferent to them.

The editor of the *Atlas*, in announcing that he had *secured your co-operation*, published a manifesto. I know nothing of this editor; but so long as you contributed to the paper, I was your humble subsidiary.

Consider how many men, wealthier than you and me, have accepted the offer of those who came forward to indemnify the persecuted for the demolition of their property. Ask yourself if Demosthenes or Milton, the two most illustrious defenders of liberty, by speech and pen, would have thrust aside the tribute which is due to such men alone. Would you dash out the signature of one who declares you his trustee for a legacy to your children? No, you will not. Neither will you reject the proofs of high esteem, ever manifested, which England, however debased, is anxious to give.

Believe me ever sincerely and affectionately yours,
Marcy 27. W. S. LANDOR.

Landor was essentially a hero-worshipper. His admiration for Washington exceeded that entertained by him for any man of any time. Franklin, too, he greatly esteemed. "Ah, if you had but another Washington and Franklin?" he exclaimed one day. To have suffered for freedom was the open-sesame to Landor's heart; nor did age in any way chill this noble enthusiasm, as the letter here inserted amply proves. It was sufficient to name Kossuth to bring fire to the old man's eye and eulogistic volubility to the tongue.

BLUSHES.

I CANNOT make him know my love;
Nor from myself conceal
The pangs that rankle in my breast,
Sharper than flame or steel.

Could I but reach a hand to him,
My very fingers' thrill
Would close, like tendrils, round the strength
Of his beloved will.

Could I but lift mine eyes to his,
My glowing soul, unrolled,
Would flash, like sunset on his sight,
In fiery red and gold.

Yet pause, my unchecked soul, and think
How vexed Penelope
Forsook her nuptial joy, that love
Should wait on modesty.

For gentle souls must keep their bounds,
Nor rudely snatch at bliss:
The very sun should lose his light
In giving it amiss.

So when I die, cross tenderly
My palms upon my breast,
And let some faithful hand compose
My tired limbs to rest.

But thou shalt fold this kerchief white,
And lay it on my face,
Saying, "She died of love untold;
But she is dead in grace."

JULIA WARD HOWE.

THE FIRST OF MAY.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

SPRING OVERFLOW AND UNDERTOW OF THE METROPOLIS—HUMORS AND HORRORS OF HOUSE-HUNTING—MIRTH AND MISERIES OF MOVING—TRIBULATIONS OF TENANTS—APPEAL TO THE PEABODIES.

THE dreadful hypothesis presented, in the nursery, to our puzzled childhood—If all the land were paper, and all the sea were ink, and all the trees were bread and cheese, what should we have to drink?—has daily paraphrased itself in ingenious perversions to all desperate house-hunters ever since the first of February last past.

As thus—If all the landlords cheat us, and all the tenants pay, and all the guild should cease to build, where shall we wretches stay? Or, more pathetically—Of all the taxes leave us, and all the butchers spare, if every cent must go for rent, what's left us but despair?

For New York is the modern instance of the perennial legend of the old woman who lived in the shoe, and who had so many children she didn't know what to do. She wooed them up the shining Hudson with the allurements of the Palisades, and wooded knolls, and lovely terraces of green along the river banks. She drove them forth with frowns of taxes, into the wastes of Jersey, which they have made to blossom as the rose. She banished them to Connecticut, where her stern memory hardened their hearts, and made them Hunkers. She enticed them to Staten Island, the immediate jewel of her soul, and gave them fairy palaces to live in, and crystal seas whereon to sail, and on the sea-girt shores of lone Long Island she planted such a populous colony as looks upon the old home with the contempt born of tidy streets, and an exclusive society.

And still her offspring swarm from the broad toe of the old shoe, at the Battery, to the sparkling buckle at High Bridge, and still the half-crazed dame stretches out her hands to the far Territories, beseeching them to open hospitable doors to this troublesome progeny, lest she be driven to push them into the Harlem, or rock them on pillows of sea-weed in Manhattan Bay.

Once a year the suppressed restlessness of the huge family declares itself in a fierce determination to invade one another's houses. The genuine Knickerbocker is nomadic as the Tartars; but he labors under the disadvantage of more impediments. Gotthold is cabined, cribbed, confined, in No. 77, but feels that in No. 79, next door, he might be happy. Wilhelm, in 79, longs for the liberty of 81; and Friedrich, long proprietor of 81, where many children have been born to him, while the great house took on the sacred form of home, recognizes that imperious mandate of society which commands him to get out from the broad shelter of its ample walls into the limits of a pinched, highly genteel, modernly improved brown-stone light-house up-town.

Every Spring the history is repeated. When the first soft days approach, and the delicate sap begins to throb in the veins of the waking trees, come little thrills and promptings in the blood; impulses to change and wander; delicious hints to run away from the hard walls and artifices of the town to the large freedom of the fields and woods; tender whispers from Mother Nature of her genial hospitality to her poor, pale children bred in city fashion.

But nobody understands them. The housekeepers fancy that it is a divine and prophetic intuition of Moving Day, and a house in the next block, which makes their walls so dingy, and fills their souls with deep unrest. So the offices of the agents are thronged, and landlords hang out their placards on the outer walls, and troops of ladies swarm over the first-class family mansions, and the cry is still "they come."

O, what a goodly outside hath the falsehood of most of these houses to let! They are old, they are dirty, they are battered, they are ill conditioned, they are haunted by swarming tenants at will, whom not all the skill of Lyon, and not all the patience of Griselda can eject; the range is worn-out, the furnace is useless, there is no water above the second story, the plumbing is defective, the roof leaks, the rooms have long outlived their latest memory of paint. For your $4,000 rent you have a highly genteel brown-stone front. *Vox et præterea nihil.*

Brown-stone fronts are palatial. A trifle monotonous and funereal, perhaps, when they stretch out in unbroken miles, without a variation in architecture, but still palatial. And yet the thankless heart of the weary seeker yearns for a sunny south room, clean and airy, for the children's nursery; longs for a pleasant chamber for papa's study; faints for a range where a loaf of bread might be properly baked, and pines for such supplies of Croton appliances as shall insure cleanliness for house and household. And for them we would gladly change the frowning front, with its glittering windows, to the most plebian brick, and glass which measures only feet, not yards.

It is the reproach of the great city that she offers no hospitality to her best citizens—the people of moderate means. Unless one has the good fortune to be a millionaire or a pauper, the narrow island has no place for him. He must pay for his foothold in thousands, or hide from sight behind single dollars. Mighty New Amsterdam has no knowledge of hundreds; and unless quiet men of salaries, and frugal clerks with narrow means, and teachers, and editors, and book-keepers, and poets, and authors, and other nonentities, can be content to bear the spurs that patient merit of the unworthy takes, and to hold fast their pennies when the tempting red strawberries first come, and button their pockets when they hear of a new house in a nice neighborhood, which the good wife thinks would be so much better for the children than the shell in which they now groan, they should wisely fly to the Jersey Flats, or the remoter shores of Harlem, where not a prospect pleases and only rents are small.

Aforetime, the Spring moving was a comedy. This year there has been not a little of a sadder element in the flitting. The exorbitant rents which landlords have so easily obtained have broken up many families. Weary women have walked from day dawn till dark in the hope of finding a shelter for which the scant income should suffice, and came back sorrowful at night, to devise impossible plans of retrenchment, and dream impossible dreams of home. The very poor are crowded into fouler nearness than ever before, and in every grade from utter want, through poverty, narrowness, and comfort, the pressure of the high rents has been sadly felt. It is useless to advise these toilers to leave the city, because they will not go. With no interior resources against discontent and loneliness, the country looks desolate, indeed, to them, and they cling vehemently to their church, to their kin, to the spots—miserable though they be—which association has made pleasant, and to the friends whom they have long known. In the city they *will* stay, and it remains to give them decent homes. There seems no nobler field for philanthropy than this. Tenement-houses containing more than five hundred tenants are reported to exist. Swarming hives of degradation, of villany, of pestilence. "Tom-all-alone's," in a horrible immortality of existence, flourishes in Baxter street and Park street and Elm. Corruption, moral and physical, ripening for the prisons, and for the grave-yards, taints the air. While these creatures live as they do, there is no hope of better things.

But everybody knows these sombre tales. While the merry bells ring in Old England, and the lads and lasses dance, and tradition hangs a festive garland on the brow of May-Day, let us not lead a skeleton to the board. At least, not this skeleton. For the hours, as they are kept in this modern city, are not dedicated to Flora, goddess of vernal beauty, but made sacred to penitential service, and recognized as foregleams of the Under World.

"May time and the cheerful dawn" are linked together only in the poetic fancy. It is the very uncheerfulest dawn of the three hundred and sixty-five. While yet the shadows fill the dismantled rooms, rise the unhappy Nomads, to gather their Lares and Penates and their household goods. Ghostly and pale, they flit hither, and yon, laden with bundles, and confused in the presence of mysterious shapes which claim to belong to their estate, but in their swathings of cotton and shrouds of coverlets look like nightmare visions. Then come the terrible carmen, and mock at earthly affections when they pack the kitchen utensils with the piano, and strew the Waverly Novels all the way from the abandoned hearthstone to the new abode. Those brawny iconoclasts, in their might of muscle, look down on feeble women, put the engravings wherever an interstice appears (subjecting themselves to the unuttered suspicion that they are brothers-in-law of the glazier), think that